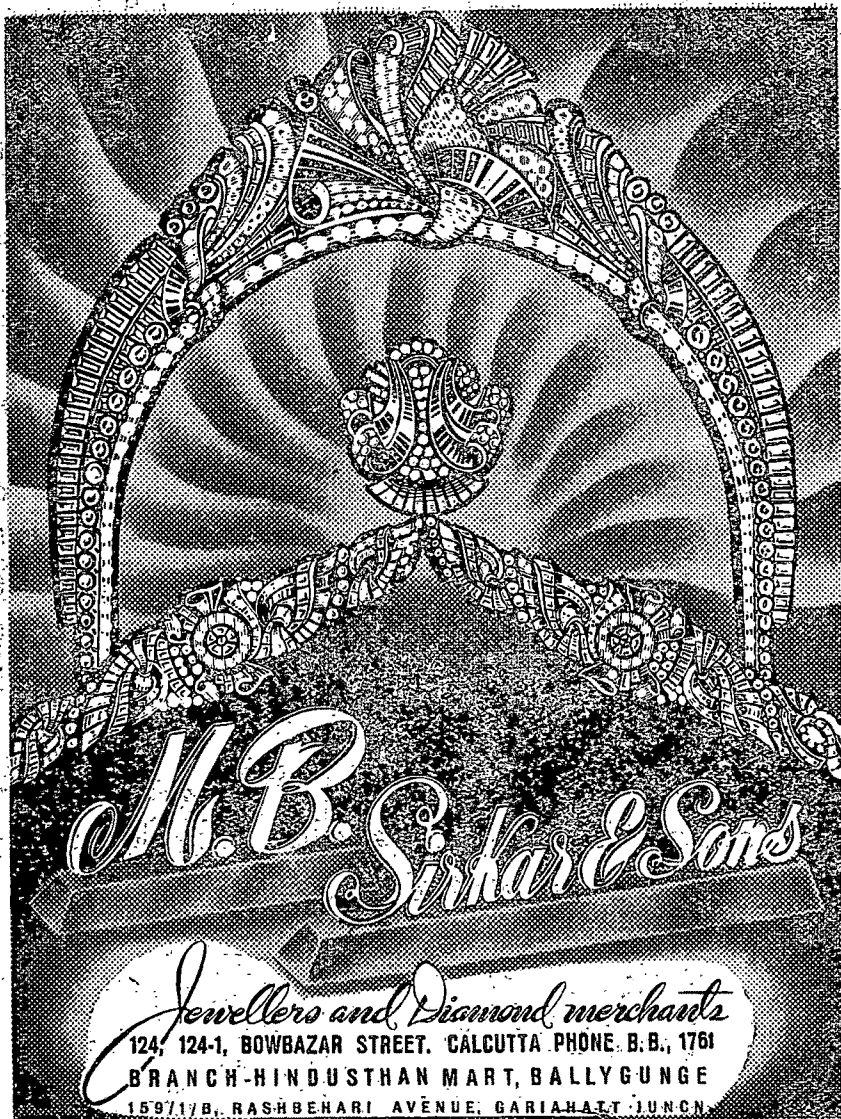


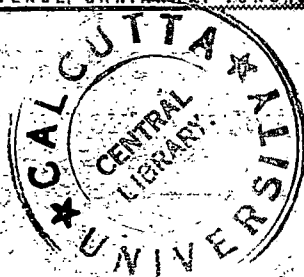
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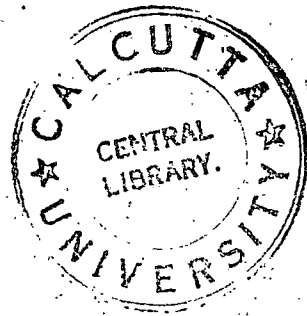


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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1950

MAHĀRĀJA ŚARVAVARMAN OF THE NIRMAND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION*

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The copperplate inscription belonging to the temple of Paraśurāma in the village of Nirmand in the Kullu Division of the Kangra District of the Punjab records the allotment of the village of Sūlīśagrāma in the *agrahāra* of Nirmanda to some Brāhmaṇas for the purposes of the god Tripurāntaka by Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Samudrasena. Samudrasena belonged to a line of feudatory chiefs in the region, and traced his descent from one Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Varunāsena, his great grandfather. The date of the inscription, year 6 in numerical sign, does not help us in fixing it chronologically. Fleet suggests that the year can very well be referred to the Harsha era on palaeographical grounds, but doubts 'the probability of the years of Harshavardhan's reign having been constituted an era of general acceptance quite so soon after his accession'.¹ He thinks that it is the regnal year of Samudrasena himself, who reigned some time (in the first half) of the seventh century A.D.

The god Tripurāntaka (Śiva, the destroyer of the demon Tripura) was installed under the name Mihreśvara by Samudrasena's mother Mihiralakshmi at a previously established shrine of the same god with the name Kapāleśvara. Kapāleśvara was installed by one Mahārāja Śarvavarman who also made some endowment to the deity at the time of its installation. Nothing is said in the copper-plate regarding the identity of Śarvavarman, and this has led to some difference of opinion among scholars about the determination of this problem.

* A paper read in the Bombay Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, History Section.

¹ Fleet, *OH*, Vol. III, p. 287.

Aravamuthan is of opinion that he was the same as the Mahārājādhirāja Sarvavarman of the Maukhari lineage. He writes, "As we know of no other Sarvavarman of about this period, we may tentatively assume that the Maukhari Sarvavarman had been able to extend his dominion so far west in the course of his wars with the Hūṇas."² D. R. Bhandarkar admits the probability of the Mahārāja Sarvavarman of the Nirmand grant being the same as the Mahārājādhirāja Sarvavarman of the Āsirgaḍh Seal.³ R. S. Tripathi, however, questions the identity. His principal grounds for holding a different view are the following: The Maukhari King is uniformly endowed with such paramount titles as Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara in the dynastic records, whereas Sarvavarman of the Nirmand plate is described as a mere Mahārāja; Aravamuthan's view would mean that "the Maukharis exercised suzerainty over the intervening Vardhana dominions, and Prabhākara who certainly was an independent king, had to fight against the Maukharis to wrest independence. Of this there is not a shred of evidence, but on the contrary the manner of description in the *Harshacharita* shows that both the powers were on very amicable and cordial terms."⁴

Tripathi is right in challenging Aravamuthan's theory about the extension of the Maukhari monarch's sway in a far distant corner of the Punjab, but the soundness of this part of his contention would not necessarily disprove that the king might have been the person responsible for the installation of the image of Kapāleśvara Śiva in the Kangra region. As Tripathi himself has shown, Sarvavarman was a mighty monarch who not only retrieved the partly lost fortunes of the Maukhari dynasty (his father Īśānavarman was defeated by the later Gupta King Kumāragupta) by defeating Dāmodaragupta, but also came in conflict with and vanquished the Hūṇas. The Āphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena refers to the 'proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas (in order to trample them to death)'.⁵ Sarvavarman alone among the Maukhari kings is specifically described as 'the Maukhari' in the Āsirgaḍh Seal, and he was certainly the most important ruler of the dynasty. These Hūṇa opponents of the Maukhari were presumably holding some political power and influence in the north-west, and the Indian chiefs of the interior, especially the more powerful among them, sometimes went

² *The Kāveri, the Maukhari, and the Saṅgam Age*, p. 93.

³ *List of North Indian Inscriptions* p. 255, f.n. 2.

⁴ *History of Kanauj*, pp. 54-5.

⁵ *CII*, III, p. 206.

on war with these alien foes for their own safety and the security of the Indian hinterland. Bāṇa alludes to Prabhākara-vardhana's fight against them, and there is much to be said in favour of Tripathi's suggestion that 'Sarvavarman's undertakings against the Hūṇas were a sort of help given to the Vardhanas to repel their depredations and save northern India from another Hūṇa upheaval'.⁶ The religious act ascribed to Sarvavarman in the Nirmand plate might have been performed by the powerful Maukhari sovereign after his victory over the Hūṇas in the sphere of influence of his friends and allies, the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara (this part of the south-eastern Punjab might as well have been included in the Vardhana kingdom). The absence of any imperial titles connected with his name in the inscription would not be a strong point against this hypothesis, for the simple reason that the installation and endowment were not being done in his own territory. Pious acts performed in the dominions of contemporary friendly kings by monarchs of far more distant regions are on record in the history of Ancient India. Two such instances can be cited here. It is a well-known fact that Samudragupta's Ceylonese contemporary Meghavarna sent an embassy with presents to the great Gupta sovereign and got his permission to build a splendid monastery to the north of the holy tree at Bodh-Gayā for the use of the pilgrims from Ceylon.⁷ The Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla records the grant of five villages in the *viśayas* of Rājagṛha and Gayā by the Pāla king at the request of Suvarṇadvīpādhipati Mahārāja Bālaputradeva, the grandson of a Śailendra king of Yava-bhūmi. The land was intended for the upkeep of a Buddhist monastery built by the Sailendra king at Nālandā. It is true there is nothing on record in the Nirmand inscription which would definitely prove that Sarvavarman was the Maukhari chief obtaining permission from the real ruler of the land for the act of piety; but the reference to the pious deed itself is so casual or incidental in the inscription, that one may ignore this omission. There are, on the other hand, several positive reasons which taken collectively would support our contention. There is no other Sarvavarman known at this period; the dynastic list of the early mediaeval kings of Chāmbā, though it contains many names ending in *Varman*, does not include it.⁸ The king installs the image (most probably a Śivaliṅga) of the God Kāpāleśvara Śiva, and the

⁶ R. S. Tripathi. *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 194.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. xvii, p. 816ff.

⁹ J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chāmba State*, pp. 82-95; a few only among them are known from their inscriptions.

Maukhari Mahārājādhirāja was an initiated Śaiva, for of all the Maukhari chiefs named in the Āsirgaḍh Seal, it is he alone who is described as *Parama-Māheśvara*. It is possible that he was a Pāśupata, and as such his installation of the Kapāleśvara form of Śiva would be highly appropriate. It has already been shown that he had to go far northwards from his kingdom during his political career, and it was probably during this expedition that an act of piety was done by him in a remote corner of the Himālayas, one of the strongholds of the Śaiva sect.

The Nirmand plate incidentally brings to light certain interesting facts connected with the history of the Śaiva sect. It shows that this locality had a Śaiva establishment sometimes previous to the period of Samudrasena, where Śaiva clericals resided. The Brāhmanas studying the *Atharva Veda*, to whom the grant was made by the king were probably their descendants. Mihireśvar Śiva's shrine was built inside the compound of the Kapāleśvara-Śiva temple under the auspices of Samudrasena's mother Mihiralakshmī. With regard to the name Mihireśvara, Fleet remarks, "the occurrence of the word *mihira*, 'the sun', as the first component of the god's name, seems to indicate that, in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with the Śaiva rites" (*op. cit.*, p. 288). The association of the Śaiva and Saura cults can be established on the basis of other data.¹⁰ But 'Mihireśvara' here is evidently based on Samudrasena's mother's name.¹¹ Its first component may, however, indicate some association of the lady's parents with the peculiar form of the sun-cult then prevalent in northern India. It is of interest to note also the name of the Śaiva image installed much earlier by Sarvavarman. Kapāleśvara appears to have been chiefly associated with the Kāpālikas, a subsect of the Pāśupata order. The existence of this subsect in this period in a far distant corner of India is proved by the copper-plate inscription of Pulakeśin II's nephew Nāgavardhana (1st half of the 7th century A.D.). It records the grant of a village near Igatpuri (Dist. Nasik) for the worship of the god Kāpāleśvara and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple.¹² The term *mahāvratin* or *mahāvratadhara* ('wielder of the great vow') is generally used to denote the Kāpālikas as a branch of the Pāśupatas or Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas who had also some specific vows to maintain.

¹⁰ Cf. the Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava image in the Rajshahi Museum Collection; *Dacca History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 458.

¹¹ Cf. the name Pṛthivīśvara-Śiva in the Karamdāṇḍā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 71 ff. & pl.

¹² *JBRAS*, Vol. xiv, p. 26.

ATOMIC SOCIOLOGY

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I. ATOMIC SOCIOLOGY

Implications of atomic energy in the field of international relations were from the very beginning widely studied and discussed because of its negative, destructive force. There is, however, also a constructive and creative aspect to it—a discovery of a tremendous source of new energy which will affect our society and its future development not only in the realm of international relations but in the widest sense—in the whole area of social change, social structure, economics, government, leisure, education and others.

This large range of problems connected with discovery of atomic energy and its social consequences calls for the research, ideas and vision of social and political scientists. In fact, mankind, flabbergasted by the lack of social safeguards against such destructive power and the possibilities of new atomic discovery, looks to them for guidance, advice and proper solution. Already a number of challenging writings can be mentioned in this field.¹ The problem requires, however, a systematic, organized and integrated approach.

At the recent conventions of American sociologists, one could hardly find a general interest in this area despite the primary significance of these problems and the public interest. Still, hopefully enough, there is a group of sociologists already pioneering in this new territory; one might mention here the new studies of Hornell Hart² or the excellent studies in public opinion under the chairmanship of Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.,³ and writings of Redfield, Ogburn and others.

¹ To mention here as examples those of John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Robert Hutchins, James T. Shotwell, W. F. Ogburn, A. D. Gideonse, R. B. Fosdick, and F. L. Schuman, and many others.

² I had the privilege of seeing the manuscript of Professor Hornell Hart's interesting book, *Social Science and the Atomic Crisis*, prepared for the Society of the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Professor Hart, in his paper, analyzes the accelerated rate of destructive power, and discusses it in connection with what he calls "destructive culture complexes." He calls for swift acceleration in social science to meet the challenge of technology and outlines a method for an "Action-Related Research Program." See also Hart, "Technological Acceleration and the Atomic Bomb," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1946.

³ "Public Reaction to the Atomic Bomb, A Nation-wide Survey of Attitudes and Information," Cornell University (mimeographed edition). This survey was made in 1946 by a Cornell University group composed of H. Cantril, P. Hening, R. Likert and L. S. Cottrell, Jr.

The large area of problems connected with the discovery of atomic energy perhaps would justify the creation of an integrated social science sub-discipline with a subject matter of social political adjustment to the atomic discovery and the discovery of new energies. As Atomic Sociology may sound too ponderous and pompous, we may call such a discipline Sociology of Basic Energies. Such a discipline may also show a need for a new type of knowledge with social science, since it might be hard to analyze social consequences of technological changes without a good knowledge of their technical character. This would be only a further development of the study of social change.

INVENTION OF MACHINES AND DISCOVERY OF NEW BASIC ENERGIES

To start with, a distinction has to be made between inventions of new machines and tools and discoveries of new energies. The influence of the latter on social change, while in many respects very similar, is much more basic. Discovery of fire, gunpowder, electricity, atomic energy, and steam as sources of energy were and are of primary historical significance, determining long trends of technical and social development. Atomic energy is probably not the last one. New kinds of energies may still be discovered, may be entirely different than the present ones, and may mark future historical epochs.

Students of social change, thus far, have made little or no clear distinction between various types of discoveries and inventions, especially between discovery of new basic energies and mechanical inventions as vehicles of social change. Even the materialistic deterministic school; whether in its classical approach of Marx and Engels or in its most orthodox, narrow approach as represented by Plechanov or Bucharin or in the liberal approach of Kautsky and Bauer, did not make clear distinction between change in energies and machines despite the fact that their basic tenet was the change of means of production. "Change of means of production," in fact, was taken by them as a concept without any further analysis of single elements of the mechanism of technological change. Similarly, William F. Ogburn, in his challenging *Social Change*, did not make a clear distinction between both.

Moreover, various studies in prediction of invention did not anticipate a basic change in energies or sources of energy. Again, this writer does not know any social prediction, out of numerous ones, in which atomic energy was foreseen. The splitting of the atom was

anticipated by physicists, but sociologists, it seems to me, did not evaluate the social consequences. To take a few older and some more recent predictions, not one, definitely not one contains any hunch that new energies might be discovered. A physicist, Sir William Crookes, back in 1892⁴ foresaw rather correctly the future use of electricity. His prophecies were in a high percentage of instances verified by later discoveries, but he did not mention any possibilities of basic change in sources of energy.

S. C. Gilfillan, a contemporary sociologist of inventions, in his numerous writings on social consequences of inventions as well as in his anticipations, challenging and often correct as these have been, did not predict any change in sources of energies as late as in the late thirties.⁵

It seems that the discovery of atomic energy came rather unexpectedly even to the leading students of social change. Their interest was centered more around modern machines and means of communication.

I am far from underestimating the latter. The same has to be said about the discovery of new elements, also new materials such as plastics. My suggestion is merely that students of social change might find it advisable to explore and differentiate various basic types of inventions and discoveries and study effects according to these types, to mention only three: energies, elements and materials, machine tools and transportation. New elements might sometimes create new types of energies, at other times new materials.

PROBLEMS

What is a subject matter of such a study? What are the problems we can anticipate as social consequences of the discovery of new energies? We shall mention a few:

1. Discovery of new energies will further limit manual effort in production. This will affect the distribution of labor, and in consequence affect the present social structure.

⁴ "Some Possibilities of Electricity" by Sir William Crookes in the *Fortnightly Review*, February 1, 1892.

⁵ Gilfillan does not mention possibilities of new sources of energy in his *Sociology of Inventions* nor in his interesting study "Prediction of Inventions," published in *Technological Trends and National Policy*, June, 1937, National Resources Committee, nor in his predictive articles in Professor Ogburn's Journal, *Social Change*, where back in 1932 he was predicting new cities—"moneopolis"—an air-cooled, neon-lighted super Rockefeller Center. The atomic bomb made such plans obsolete.

2. Change in class structure in Europe (because of its political pattern) may affect distribution of political power.
3. Discovery of basic energies leads to public ownership of basic energies. This trend has been noticed even in United States in connection with the discovery of atomic energy. The only solution, the official one, thus far proposed is nationalization or internationalization of atomic energy, which in other words means socialization on a national or international level.⁶

This in turn leads to the emergence of economic power next to the executive, legislative, and judicial. Problems of checks and balances and problems of separation of power as necessary safeguards for a democratic system arise in a new specific situation—again a field of inquiry for a political scientist as well as for a political sociologist. The trend toward nationalization is general today in Europe, in many other fields than economics, but in the realm of atomic energy this tendency from the very beginning has been almost “monopolistic”, unique, without any other important competitive propositions.

4. In the realm of social interaction, discovery of new destructive energies calls for a much greater organization of human cooperation in various forms and the elimination of conflicts. This is a matter of survival in the realm of international relations. However Compton⁷ rightly points to the necessity of a broad cooperation as a consequence of the atomic discovery. It seems to me that Compton's conclusions are based on the atomic project experience in team work, since he writes that the “job was done well and fast” that way. He very rightly stresses: “In this will to cooperate we see the basic principle of a smoothly working society.”

Concentration of basic energies and their general use contribute also to a further division of labour in a functional sense. This makes man more and more dependent on the work of others. We are already more dependent today on our water supply, gas, and electricity than

⁶ “Atomic Energy Act of 1946”, April 19 (legislative day March 5), 1946 (Calendar No. 1251, Report 1211, 79th Congress, Senate) submitted by Mr. McMahon. This document contains a wealth of information on atomic problems, especially useful for a social and political scientist. “A Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy,” C. I. Barnard, J. R. Oppenheimer, C. A. Thomas, H. A. Winne, D. E. Lillenthal, Chairman, Washington, D. C., Department of State, March, 1946.

⁷ Arthur H. Compton, “Social Implications of Atomic Energy”, *Think*, May, 1946.

we were fifty years ago. In this sense a peasant in the Balkans who is using a candle for his light, wood for heating, water from his well and a horse as traction power is much more independent. But functional interdependence of men creates the need for smooth cooperation, otherwise the whole economy and all the operations of society may collapse. Cheap inexpensive energies will still foster general use of energies, in a higher degree than today, and will make us functionally more interdependent than ever.

5. One of the factors which contributes to our inventiveness is our objectives, our value systems. We owe to them our dynamic, inventive approach to life. Tools have their social ends, and social ends are deeply rooted in the ideology of a society. Atomic energy might be used for one social end—total destruction of mankind, and for another—struggle against misery, hunger, disease. Energy as such is neutral; the ends are not neutral. We understand an invention only if we relate it to the society, to its idea-system, to values, to the social objectives inventions will serve. Discovery of atomic energy is one of the greatest challenges to our morals that mankind has ever faced. A dangerous dichotomy between our moral advance and technological progress may bring total destruction to mankind. We face today a challenge—a challenge of parallel advance—in the field of our morals and values as well as in the field of technology.⁸

Here is a number of problems—a broad, challenging, creative field for a social scientist—a field which simultaneously touches sociology, economics, political science, philosophy, and psychology; and calls for an integrated approach and scientific method.⁹

⁸ John Dewey discusses similar problems in "Dualism and the Split of Atom. Science and Morals in Atomic Age," *New Leader*, Nov. 17, 1946. Hornell Hart in his manuscript, "Social Science and the Atomic Crisis," (quoted above) mentions the significance of an extensive study of problems of values in connection with the atomic discovery: Compton in the above quoted article stresses too a need for agreement on objectives as a matter of survival. This writer discussed these problems in "Problems of International Education," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September, 1946, and in a chapter "Parallelism and Progress" in *European Ideologies*, New York, 1948.

⁹ One of the first, but preliminary, efforts to attack the problem on an integrated level was a special issue of "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," January, 1947, devoted entirely to *Social Implications of Modern Science* with articles of Crane, Compton, Meyerhoff, Brodie, Briggs, Cushmen, Bromage, Marquis, Ogburn, Stason, Thompson, Wirth and many others. Interestingly enough, a substantial part is devoted to the problems of values—written by Haber, Keniston and Schuster.

Three recent books plead strongly for a scientific approach to social problems connected with the atomic discovery as well as with implications of modern science: S. Chase, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, New York, 1948, G. A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?*, New York, 1947 and A. H. Leighton, *Human Relations in a Changing World*, New York,

II

INTELLIGENTSIA, HYPOTHESIS AND METHOD

In the second part of this article we shall limit our discussion to one problem only. Space does not permit us to deal with more possible social effects of the productive use of atomic energy as a new source of basic energy on the future social structure.

Our hypothesis is: use of atomic energy will further eliminate physical effort. In consequence purely manual employment will grow slower; while intellectual labor will expand. As intellectual work increases, the new middle class, or intelligentsia, which forms a class in Europe, will expand. Within the working class, effort of muscles and lungs will be increasingly replaced by effort of nerves and by mental work.

We shall further reduce our discussion to two main variables (a) a changing social class-intelligentsia, and (b) new basic energies. Relations, both variables, are of functional character; though for purposes of discussion we shall translate the function in a causal order: energies as cause of the change in social structure; increase in number of intellectual workers, or the intelligentsia, as effects of technological change.

It is impossible, however, in any social study to eliminate all other factors which affect a given variable. The growth of an intelligentsia which can be observed since the end of the 19th century is not a result of one cause alone. There are other causes which produce a change in social structure. It will be a mistake to disregard the others for the sake of a better, clearer presentation of a problem, for the sake of a more handsome theory. Therefore, in all our studies of social change as caused by the discovery of new energies, our variables should not be taken out of context and discussed entirely detached from social realities, but on the contrary, they should be discussed within the social context. Therefore, in this

1949. Chase makes an inventory of our scientific methods and techniques in social sciences which would be used in solving those problems. Lundberg pleads strongly for broad application of scientific methods as "scientists in general are finally awakening to the fact that unless the social sciences are developed, our net reward for the development of other sciences may be destruction." A similar position takes Leighton. All three books challenging and brilliant—try to separate "scientific" from the values and philosophical, moral ends of mankind. MacIver reviewing Leighton's book in the New Leader, "Atom Bombs and Social Sciences" October 1, 1949, asks "Knowledge about what...is it something that lies in the attitudes of men and groups and nations toward one another?" and stresses the need for teaching men about our values and destruction connected with "abuse of power... suppressing integrity of groups and people."

paper, too, the other significant causes as a part of general causal conditions resulting in social change will be mentioned. The two other factors (variables) in this study are: (1) expanding bureaucratic state, (2) mechanization.

THE EMERGING CLASS

As the working class matured in the 19th Century, and the Eastern European peasantry emerged as a social force and political factor in the second half of that Century, so it seems, the intelligentsia appeared as one of the significant classes of the 20th Century. While the intelligentsia in the United States still forms a part of the middle class (though it became a functional group with considerable degree of cohesion in some areas), in Europe appeared as a new social stratum or, as some prefer, a new social class.

The intelligentsia are a social stratum of technicians, bureaucrats, persons in the liberal professions, teachers, and students; in Europe, office workers also regard themselves as a part of it. This class or stratum embraces in Europe those whose work does not require a physical effort, but a mental one, or those who are on the margin of physical and mental work (operation of counting machines and the like).

The intelligentsia in Europe have a class-consciousness, or consciousness of a social stratum, and a status concept of superiority to manual work. A distinction should be made between intellectuals and intelligentsia. "Intellectuals" comprise a kind of still "superior" sub-stratum, a sub-class of inventors, writers, artists, and creative intellectual workers, whereas the regular "intelligentsia" apply the ideas of the "intellectuals."¹⁰

WHY THE INTELLIGENTSIA IS GROWING AS A CLASS

Three main developments contribute to further the rise and expansion of the new class: (1) The expanding bureaucratic state, (2) mechanization and automatization of industry, (3) discovery of new energies.

1. New economic changes all over Europe—nationalization of industry as well as expansion of social insurances and various types

¹⁰ Space does not permit us to discuss further problems of definition of the intelligentsia and the new middle class have been discussed very widely, for example, by Robert Michels, Alexander Machajski, Max Nomad, Lewis Corey, the Lynd's Mills, Parsons, MacIver (problems of class and structure), Blaha, Lederer, Laurat, Deman, A. Bingham and many others.

of social services, and last, but not least, centralistic tendencies of the modern state—have contributed to a significant expansion of bureaucracy in various forms. Expansion of bureaucracy, so characteristic especially for the Soviet system, contributes to the growth of the intelligentsia. This class in Soviet Union and its satellite countries is becoming the new privileged ruling group.

Karl Kautsky observed back in the eighties the growth of this class. According to him, in Germany the number of workers grew 62% in the years 1882-1885, while the new middle class—the intelligentsia—grew 118.9%.¹¹ Lewis Corey, who discovered a similar phenomenon in the United States, in his admirable analysis concludes:¹² “While the working class multiplied six times (in the United States) from 1870 to 1940, the middle class as a whole multiplied eight times and the *new middle class sixteen times*.” Corey’s new middle class is exactly our intelligentsia, “technical, managerial, and clerical employees.” He further enumerates teachers, designers, clergymen, and a number of professions:

Even in relation to the workers, the intelligentsia form a powerful group. For the sake of simplification, we shall only compare wage-earners and salaried employees in various countries, leaving out entirely employers and independent workers, though the intelligentsia belong to this class too. Our comparison (below) is based on figures of the International Labor Office. Our source, *Annuaire des Statistiques du Travail*, defines wage-earners in general as chiefly manual workers, while salaried employees include office and other non-manual workers and workers in position of responsibility. It has to be taken into consideration that not all countries included the same occupational groups (see figures, footnote 13) and not all countries classified identically employees and wage-earners as well as managers. Nevertheless, a rough comparison shows that the U.S.A. in 1930 employed only a little over three times as many wage-earners (workers) as salaried employees—the intellectual workers, intelligentsia (public administration was not included in this statistic). Germany (1933) employed less than three times as many workers as intelligentsia (national defence

¹¹ Karl Kautsky. *Bernstein und das Socialdemokratische Programm*, Stuttgart, 1899, p. 130. Even a much faster growth between 1882 and 1907 was noted by Kautsky. According to his *Proletarian Revolution and its Program* (Polish edition, Warsaw), the number of intellectual workers, intellectual employees in agriculture, industry and commerce grew in Germany from 307,000 to 1,291,000, more than four times, while the number of salaried workers grew from 10,705,000 to 17,836,000, only more than half, while the number of “economically independent” remained almost the same.

¹² Lewis Corey, “The Middle Class,” reprinted from the Spring issue of the *Antioch Review*, p. 4.

and public administration included) : similarly France (1931), Bulgaria approximately four and half times as many; Hungary almost eight times as many; Poland about six times as many. As was said, these numbers are approximate only; moreover, they do not include independent workers and professionals. Nevertheless, it seems to be clear that in the United States and in Europe the number of intellectual workers—intelligentsia—is roughly as high as from 1-3 to 1-7 of the total of physical workers, and it seems that agricultural countries, which is self-explanatory, have a much lower ratio of intelligentsia in relation to workers than industrial countries—a fact which still confirms our thesis.¹³ In the Western European countries, the intellectuals do not play exactly the same role, and the bureaucratic apparatus is thus not expanding much. Still, new economic and social tendencies show a trend of the expansion of the intelligentsia, while the old middle class, the "bourgeoisie" is decreasing.

2. The mechanization of industry shows a continuous trend to replace simple human movement by automats. This process of automatization eliminates large numbers of unskilled workers. We work less and less with our muscles and lungs but more with our brains and nerves. Comparison of road building somewhere in the West of the United States where the whole process is almost completely mechanized, or ditch digging for irrigation in the same region, with road building in the Balkans or irrigation in Mexico will give us an ample picture of present development. In the Balkans and in Mexico we will still see long rows of laborers, working in their sweat with heavy spades, while in the United States those who operate various machines are closer to the brain and nerve work of an engineer than to the muscular work of a manual labourer. To produce such machines, however, we need a large group of trained, educated technicians; also to operate them, to sell them, to distribute them.

¹³ *Annuaire des Statistiques du Travail*, BIT, 1941, Montreal, 1942. Figures quoted below are extracted from tables on "Total and Gainfully Occupied Population." Because of lack of space we gave figures for only one country of agricultural character—Bulgaria.

Structure of the Gainfully Occupied Population—U.S.A.—1930

Country	Salaried Employees	Wage-Earners
a U.S.A.	7,949,455	28,269,128
a Germany (1933-after Versailles)	5,513,137	16,167,905
a France (1931)	3,024,885	9,143,545
b Bulgaria (1934)	103,779	474,718

a-industrial—b-occupation group.

Colin Clark, in his classic *Conditions of Economic Progress*, anticipates similarly expansion of employment in intellectual field. His analysis of income distribution and social structure shows too, that the economically advanced countries have a high proportion of population engaged, what he calls in tertiary industries (commerce, services and similar) what means in turn a high proportion of what we call "intelligentsia."

Mechanization no longer limits itself only to simple and purely physical operations. It has successfully invaded offices. Machines are taking over counting and filling, contributing further to the process of limitation of automatic efforts. In the offices, however, further mechanization contributes to employment, both of less skilled operators of various simpler machines and of the more highly skilled staff. The new Department of Agriculture's "Rapid Selector," conceived by Dr. Vannevar Bush, a filling machine combining electronic controls with micro-film, can serve here as an example of the revolution which is coming to the offices and which will affect the social composition of the office workers.¹⁴ New automatic computing machines seem to inaugurate a basic change in office work, eliminating what we may call automatic mental effort, such as counting and recording. Professor Louis Ridenour¹⁵ who calls these machines "mechanical brains," announces a second industrial revolution as the result of their introduction and describes them as "a new class of high speed, automatic, computing machines with rudimentary organs of memory, judgment and mathematical logic." Space and the purpose of this article do not permit me to discuss further similar influences in agriculture.

3. Past experience shows that discoveries of new energies such as electricity act as limiting factors in employment of manual workers but require many more trained technicians as well as clerical and office workers. Electric power stations, based on water power, require very few manual workers. Energy is produced by the power of water; the machines do not need workers who would operate them manually. An army of trained technicians who do not strain their muscles, but work with their brains, is needed to plan, build, and operate the machines. But an army of book-keepers, tellers, typists, managers is needed to distribute the energy and administer the distribution. Every month the whole army of office people have to prepare bills, check the books, inform the customers about new developments, encourage them to higher consumption.

¹⁴ "Within its cabinet, measuring about six by eight feet on the face and less than three feet deep, are controls capable of selecting any one of 10,000,000 subjects out of haphazard documents photographed on the reels of films fed through it. Each reel may contain 500,000 pictures that pass over a selecting eye for individual re-photographing by a special camera at the rate of 60,000 pictures a minute

The 10,000,000 possible arrangements of the dots provide every conceivable combination of cross-index code for any subject ranging, in the Department of Agriculture's research, from hybrid corn to penicillin and its multiple experiments and applications." (Charles Hurd, in *New York Times*, June 23, 1949).

¹⁵ Louis N. Ridenour, "Mechanical Brains, Announcing Second Industrial Revolution," *Fortune*, May, 1949.

Atomic discovery will produce a much wider use and distribution of energy than is now the case. Energy will become still cheaper and still more generally used. This will continue to affect the division of labor; more people will have to be employed to work with their brains and less to use their muscles. In consequence, the intelligentsia, either as a functional group, or as a class, will grow. Mechanization of industry and especially cheap energies are usually conducive to a shorter working day if processes of accumulation of capital do not interfere with those social opportunities which modern technology offers. One might mention Robert Owen's classic examples or the later experimentation of Ernst Abbe¹⁶ in Zeiss Jena Works to show that technological advance leads normally to a shorter working day. Through a rare occurrence in history, this was achieved without a hard struggle by organized labor. Wide exploration by the International Labor Office in Geneva has shown, furthermore, that while technological advance is conducive to shorter working hours, on the other hand, a trend toward a shorter working day has its effects on technological advance.¹⁷ This means still further consumption of energy and elimination of physical effort.

Shorter labor hours means more leisure, and more leisure may lead to a large expansion of adult education and recreational services. Recreational activities mean institution of adult education (let us hope), theatres, concert halls, may be research institutions as a leisure proposition, as well as various types of organizations for recreational activities, parks, stadiums, and similar things. All that means a higher demand on intellectual workers, teachers, artists, instructors and others.

CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

It was shown above that, among other factors, discovery of new basic energies such as the atomic will lead to the growth of the class of intellectual workers. Rise of intelligentsia in Europe will have a wide political influence. It may create an entirely new system of class division; and as class division corresponds, in certain limited sense, in Europe to political division, change in social structure may effect distribution of political power in Europe. Appearance of the intelligentsia as a new class may also be an augury of a new ruling, privileged class in Europe, where the class division has always been deeper. Such were the gloomy predictions of Alexander Machajski and his friend, Max Nomad. Similarly, James Burnham in his "Managerial Revolution" anticipated a rule of the managerial class.

¹⁶ Ernst Abbe, *Sozialpolitische Schriften*, Jena.

¹⁷ Edgard Milhaud, "La Journée de Huit Heures et ses Résultats," Geneva, 1927.

In fact, this did actually happen in the Soviet Union where the new intelligentsia did become a privileged class. Even in democratic societies in which nationalization is making progress, fear among the workers that a new privileged class might emerge is already apparent. Also in democratic Great Britain, those fears can be noted, as for instance, in a recent publication of the Fabian Society, "Miners and the Board." Though this publication is a second-hand reporting based on replies of 88 well-informed experts who were asked to answer what the miners were thinking, it still contains information which shows the issues. Eighty-four informants reported that the miners think there are too many posts. "The majority of the men," to quote the report, "believe the stories about salaries, mansions, motor cars, etc. because they see them. . . : If the stories are not true, then it is the fault of the Board in allowing showy officials to run around the coalfields. . . ." The miner thinks, in general, according to this report, that there are too many posts and he shows a good deal of distrust of the "intellectual worker."¹⁸ It might have been that the complaints of the miners are not justified. Moreover, we know that any factory, any mine needs its office and engineering staff. If a nationalized mine has to produce, it cannot exist without those men. Men, about whom the miners complain, might be useful and excellent experts. It is possible that the miners are entirely wrong. All that granted, it still shows the feeling, the opinions, the distinctions.

Class division, or division in social strata, is a consequence of labor division; and division into farmers, workers and intelligentsia will remain even in nationalized systems just because of the consequences of functional, occupational distribution of employment, which in turn shapes a number of social, cultural characteristics. From the point of view of a democratic value system, as long as this relationship is not exploitative, as long as one class does not rule the other and does not exploit the other, such a distribution of social strata is not very harmful.

There is no necessity, however, that the intelligentsia in Europe must in the future turn into a new privileged and exploitative group. Lewis Corey in his instructive writings¹⁹ gives us a plan for a co-operative system in which the intelligentsia, like all useful classes, would find their proper place in a democratic society.

¹⁸ See an extensive editorial in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, May 19, 1949. I quote from this article since the original report had not reached me when I wrote this paper.

¹⁹ "Unfinished Task," New York, 1942; "Planning without Statism," in *European Ideologies*, Philosophical Library, 1948.

CAMOENS AND THE LUSIADAS

BAILON DE SA

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Conceived and almost wholly written in the East, the *Lusiadas*, the monumental epic of Luiz de Camoens, was probably the first enduring link between the East and the West. We witness here the vivid impact of the two civilizations, which brought in its wake a great deal of good, but was not altogether immune from harm. It has, however, certainly brought about a closer contact between peoples so widely diverging in ideologies and outlook. It is necessary that this contact should continue, and wherever possible interdiffuse, if we are to achieve that unity of ideas and ideals which alone can lead the nations of the world to mutual understanding and concord.

Vasco da Gama and his torch-bearer Camoens, are indubitably, two figures, the first the very embodiment of the genius of adventure, and the other of culture and poetry, who have contributed to this happy rapprochement. It is the purpose of these lines to evoke the forgotten figure of Camoens and his epopee, the *Lusiadas*.

He was born in 1524, the year Vasco da Gama died, or 1525, very likely in Lisbon, though like Homer, about seven cities claim him as their son. He came of a noble but poor and untitled family. His father was a Gallic nobleman, and his mother of Celtic descent. It appears, however, that he inherited, to a very large degree, the Celtic strain. He joined the University of Coimbra, but does not appear to have taken any degree there, as he was soon banished to Lisbon because of a scandalous duel in which he got involved. Some sort of amorous adventure seems to have driven him into it. In Lisbon, however, he had an easy access to the Court circles as he could claim a noble lineage. His was at once a genial and combative nature. At the Court, where he was an assiduous attendant, he made helpful friends, but also implacable enemies. He was soon entangled in the scandals and intrigues of the Court life, and his influential rivals soon manoeuvred him out to an exile to Ribatejo. But he asked for a commutation of the sentence and joined the army in 1547. He was sent to Morocco where in a skirmish with the Moors, he lost his right eye. 1549 saw him back in Lisbon, and back again in the fatal intrigues of the Court.

This time he was implicated in a quarrel where he wounded one of the king's equerries. This brought him nine long months in the prison of Tronco. He was released from here only to join the Armada of Alvares Cabral. After a difficult voyage that lasted six months he reached Gôa in 1553. It was here that he conceived the *Lusiadas*. He was scarcely for a month in Gôa, when he was sent on an expedition to the Red Sea where he distinguished himself by his conspicuous bravery. The Molluccas, Ceylon, Sumatra, the Maldive islands, were places he was sent to on similar expeditions. Back in Gôa he was again immersed in the malicious plots that were his bane in Lisbon. His outspoken condemnation of the errors and abuses in the viceregal palace in Gôa, took him back to jail. He was released but only to accompany another expedition to China in 1556. He was in Macau in 1558, where it is tradition that he wrote the greater part of the *Lusiadas* in a grotto which, to this day, bears his name. After two years in Macau he was being brought back to Gôa, as a prisoner, accused of malversation as Commissary for the Dead and Missing in that country. But the vessel he was in, capsized at the mouth of the river Mekong, in Cambodia. Camoens lost everything, but swimming with his right hand only, he saved his *Lusiadas*! After two years in Cambodia, he returned to Gôa in 1560. Two years in jail, and he was released in 1562 after having proved his innocence. But he was soon back in prison for some debts he had incurred and could not pay off. Camoens, however, composed a small burlesque poem satirizing his creditor and sent it to the Viceroy. The latter was much amused and set him at liberty.

Camoens was now sixteen years in India, all of them spent in bitterness and strife. Disillusioned, exhausted and broken, he longed to get back to Portugal. He returned there in 1569, miserable and penniless. His only treasure, the *Lusiadas*. After a couple of years spent in furnishing it, he published his *Magnum Opus* in 1571. D. Sebastian, the then king, conceded him a miserable annual pittance of fifteen milreis! He lived for eight years after the publication of the *Lusiadas*, and on the 10th of June, 1580, he died in Lisbon, "unwept, unhonoured and unsung."

* * * * *

The *Lusiadas* is an epic poem, in *ottava rima*, divided into ten Cantos. The first Canto opens with the argument of the epic that is unequivocally expressed in the word "*eu canto o peito illustre*."

lusitano" (. . . the noble Lusians' stouter breast sing I). Then follows the invocation to the Muses of Tagus, and requests Phoebus not to let its waters be inferior to those of Hippocrene. The narration begins by the description of the Council of the Gods in the Olympus, presided over by Jupiter. The latter is heard to extol the valorous qualities of the Lusian people, and shows himself favourably disposed to help them in their adventures. Then we see Vasco da Gama, in the Indian Ocean, sailing peacefully, under clear skies and still waters. They cast anchor at Mozambique. The Regent and his entourage, who are Arabs, call on them. They are welcomed by the Captain who offers them fine cloth, sweets and wine. The Arabs are very pleased and are much impressed by the equipment and the arms of the Portuguese. The Chieftain asks Vasco da Gama to take him around. The sight moves him to jealousy, but he is careful to conceal it when he leaves for the shore. But Bacchus, is at work! He comes down as an old Sheik, calls on the Regent, and tells him that the Portuguese are Christians, robbers, and therefore dangerous men! The Arabs are thus stirred and provoke the Portuguese to battle. But the superior artillery of the latter scatters and routs them. Vasco da Gama leaves Mozambique.

Canto II shows Gama in Moimbas, where, he was told in Mozambique, he would find Christians. Bacchus is already there under the guise of one. The Portuguese are very happy and mix freely with the Arabs, while the latter are scheming to destroy the fleet by setting fire to it. But Venus comes down with all her nymphs, and with the help of Jupiter, saves the fleet. Vasco da Gama leaves Mombasa and arrives at Malindi where he is received well and feasted. The king of Malindi asks Gama all about Portugal.

Canto III starts with an invocation to Calliope, the goddess of epic poetry, and Gama, after having described Europe as he knew then, begins with the history of Portugal. It runs through the whole of this canto and continues into the IV, where the great personalities of Portugal's history are depicted. The latter part of this canto describes the strange dream of D. Manuel I. He sees two old and venerable men coming out of the waters and cry, from afar, to the king:

"Illustrious Ganges am I, whose farthest fount
In realms celestial, heavenly heights, I trace:
And yon stands Indus, King, who on the mount
Which thou regardest, hath of birth his place.

Thou shalt hard warfare wage on our account;
 But, still insisting every fear to face,
 With ne'er seen conquests, and sans soil or stain,
 The tribes thou viewest thou shalt curb and rein"

(Tr. Burton)

Incited by this dream the King calls his counsellors, and after a short deliberation, they prepare the Armada, and the expedition to India is launched.

Canto V opens with the departure of Gama from Restelo (Lisbon). Then follows the description of the different parts they touch as far as the Cape of Good Hope. Then comes the episode of Adamastor—perhaps the most extraordinary, the most genial and one of the greatest poetical creations of all times. Adamastor personifies the trials and perils of Navigation. As they were doubling the Cape, they see a gigantic shape, disfeatured and frowning, rise in the air. It had a long and a squalid beard, cavernous eyes, a ghastly and menacing look, grisly hair stained all over with slime, coal-black lips and yellow, projecting tusks. The second Colossus of Rhodes.—In a voice like thunder, he threatens with death the Lusian sailors if they dare double the Cape, and forebodes every imaginable ill to their people. Though terrified to the marrow of his bones Vasco da Gama, makes bold and asks "Who art thou, whose immense stupendous shape is like a mighty miracle to me?" Whereupon:

"His lips and dingy orbs he wreathed and roll'd,
 And with a sudden frightful wailing cry,
 In slow and bitter accounts he replied
 As though the question probed and galled his pride:
 I am that hidden mighty Head of Land,
 The Cape of Tempests fitly named by you,
 Which Ptol'my, Mela, Strabo never fand,
 Nor Pliny dreamt of, nor old Sages knew:
 Here in South Ocean end I Africk strand,
 Where my unviewed Point ye come to view,
 Which to the far Antarctick Pole extendeth;
 Such be your daring rashness dire offendeth."

(Tr. Burton)

Then he confides how he was jilted by Thetis and asked Doris to plead for him. And then:

"Love madden'd, moonstruck, now I fled the war,
 and kindly Doris named the trysting-night;

at length my lovely love I saw appear,
 my winsome Thetis, in her robeless white :
 Like one possessed I hurried from afar
 opening mine arms to clasp the life and sprite
 of this my body, and hot kisses rain
 upon her cheeks, her locks, her glorious eyne.
 "Ah! how it irks to tell my sad disgrace!
 thinking my lover in these arms to hold,
 mine arms a rugged Mountain did embrace,
 yclad with bramble bush, a horrid wold :
 Before this rock, upstanding face to face,
 which for that angel front I did enfold,
 no more was I man, no ! lorn and lone
 a rock, a stone, I stood before a stone."

* * * * *

"My flesh slow hardens into solid earth,
 to rocks and horrid crags enstone my bones ;
 these limbs thou seest and this mighty girth,
 extend where desert Ocean raves and moans :
 In fine, the giant-stature of my birth
 to this far Headland sprent with rocks and stones
 the Gods debased ; and doubling all my woes,
 round me white, winsome, watery Thetis flows."

(Tr. Burton)

The apparition vanishes and the Portuguese forge uneventfully ahead. After a few more episodes of Portugal's history, Gama ends his discourse.

In Canto VI the curtain rises on the festivities of the king of Malindi, and the subsequent departure of Gama. They were sailing prosperously when Bacchus goes down to the sea, and after convoking the sea gods, machinates the destruction of the Armada. Meanwhile our navigators go merrily along, and to while away their time, busy themselves with stories. Suddenly a violent storm bursts over their heads. Venus with her nymphs comes again to their rescue, and claims the tempest. A little later they sight India.

They arrive in India. Then follows a description of the cis-gangetic plain, where "people feed on the fragrance of the finest flowers," and the land "Bengal is rich, in short, her wealth exceedeth all." At Calicut many call on them and among them a Muslim called

GS. 1603

Monsayde, who apparently knows Spanish. The latter welcomes them ashore, and entertains them. He then describes to them the land of Malabar where "Happy condition! happy humankind, who over-jealous wrongs may never brood"! Gama is received by the Zamorim. The Catual, Governor of Calicut, visits the Armada, and Gama, as he describes to him the heraldic figures on the Portuguese flag, relates the history of Portugal.

Canto VIII is chiefly the history of Portugal. The Zamorim orders the astrologers to forecast the future of the Armada. They report evil to the navigators. The Moors, instigated again by Bacchus, attempt to destroy Gama, but the latter, after a talk with the Zamorim, is allowed to depart. But the Catual, on the sly, prevents Gama from proceeding unless he gave him the goods he had brought with him.

Canto IX shows Gama on his way to Portugal. While they were on the way, Venus directs their course to an island—the Island of Venus—where the intrepid sailors and their valiant captain are to be rewarded for their labours and recompenced for their sacrifices. Then follows the description of the Island.

Canto X opens with a description of the banquet on the isle of Venus, while one of the nymphs sings and relates the principal achievements and conquests of the Portuguese. The banquet ends, and Gama is led by Thetis to a mountain whence she shows him the universe as then conceived by Ptolemy. The sailors leave the island, and arrive in Lisbon.

* * * *

Camoens, like many an unfortunate man of genius, had his detractors. But though most of them can be ignored as being mere scurrilists, there is among them the redoubtable figure of Voltaire. But Voltaire had also been reckless in his judgement of Shakespeare and Dante and Homer. In the case of Camoens, however, though he calls the *Lusiadas* a farrago, owing to the unfamiliar mixture of myth and Christianity, he pays it an oblique compliment when he calls it *une nouvelle espèce d'épopée*. His admirers in France have placed him on the same pedestal as Homer and Dante. The philo-Camoens of Brazil, Spain, Italy, Germany have for him the same regard as for their own greatest poets. Dr. Johnson and Goldsmith are two great English enthusiasts. Some have called the *Lusiadas* the epic of the sea, others the epic of hispanic destiny. Humboldt, the naturalist, finds it more appropriate to call it the 'poem of the sea.'

The epic of the alliance of the East and the West, the epic of commerce, the epic of the construction of the new world, the epic of the progress of navigation—these are the various names by which it has been called by the foreigners. To the Portuguese, however, it is their Bible, their Gospel, their Breviary. It is to them their national epic. It was, and it is to them, the chief source whence they derived all the fervour for their political and moral resurgence. They seek in it all the heroism, all the chivalry, all the high qualities of the genius of their race.

Though Camoens has been translated into almost all the European languages, yet outside Portugal he is scarcely known. He is still caviar to the general. The detractors have called him the one-eyed king of the Portuguese poets (ironically though he had lost one eye in Morocco). They have given him immortality by courtesy. They have accused him of plagiarism, and lack of originality. Much has been made of the fact that the first verse of the Aeneid, '*Arma virumque cano*,' has a close resemblance to the first verse of the Lusiadas '*As armas e os barões assinalados*,' and a few other points of contact. But such contacts are common. It is even quite possible that he sought inspiration in Virgil, as even Dante did. Those who find, in such arguments, reason to underrate Camoens, are without doubt labouring in lamentable ignorance of the intrinsic merit of the epic. Its lyric beauty, its music, its almost infinite variety of rhythm, the clangorous cadence of its verse, its humanism, deep and comprehensive, the almost scientific precision with which he describes some natural phenomena as St. Elmo's fire, the water-spout, scurvy, etc., its high moral tone, its symbolism, are not found even in Homer and Virgil. But for all its charm and grandiloquence, for all the vast erudition, draped in the most exquisite language, the Lusiadas is still as unread as the Argonautica.

The reason I guess is in the words of Voltaire. It is a new kind of epic. It is the national epic of the Portuguese, without a doubt. But it is not only that. Its theme concerns all. It relates how, through incredible difficulties, through storms and torments, an intrepid band of sailors, led by a valiant captain, forged an enduring moral and cultural link between the East and West.

World literature has several epic poems. We have the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer. In the former the glory that was Greece and her heroes are spoken about. The latter has the wanderings and the final return of Ulysses to his faithful Penelope, as the dominant theme. The Aeneid of Virgil relates the legendary history of Rome.

The trilogy of Dante takes our breath away. There is Milton's *Paradise Lost* and others of the same calibre. But the *Lusiadas* stands alone in its conception. "Homer excels in sublimity; Virgil in purity and tenderness; Ariosto in luxuriant fancy; and Tasso in enthusiasm. Camoens combines all. The historical part of the *Lusiadas* rivals if not surpasses the *Aeneid*. While the Renaissance period failed to produce an Europe in Italy, England and France, little Portugal can point to her triumph in the noblest field of poetry. Her Epos is not only the most complete that has appeared in any modern language; it is also the first born (Burton)." It is the epic of a nation. It is real history that has taken the proportions of an epic. This fact is at once the reason why it should hold a unique place in world literature, and also why it should be relegated to oblivion. Those who hold the latter betray, however, a parochial attitude, born, very likely, of ignorance. I am inclined to attribute to the *Lusiadas* a whole symbolic significance, where the poet seeks anchorage to his poetical virtuosity in the history of his people. It has passages of transcendent lyric beauty, it has dazzling moments of poetical oestrus, and the fact that they are commingled with the history of his country, should not blind us to the intrinsic worth of that majestic assemblage of heroic verse. Another powerful factor that has contributed to the neglect of this great epic is the difficulty of translating Portuguese into adequate English. All the translators have missed the felicity of the language, and most show a deplorable ignorance of it, or find it difficult to render its subtleties into adequate English, which lacks the fire of the novi-latin languages.

In fine, those who would prefer the yardstick of Aristotle will find that it is, 'simple' and 'moral' and perfect in 'sentiments' and 'manners.'

EAST BENGAL REFUGEES—A STUDY IN SOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIUM

ANIL KUMAR MAJUMDAR, M. A.

These studies are based on data collected from a number of refugees stranded at Sealdah Railway station on the days of investigation. These studies were conducted on a rough sampling basis with a view to assessing the possibilities of social assimilation and adjustment. There are obvious drawbacks in such case studies from a strictly scientific point of view; nevertheless they are of use in helping us to appreciate the refugee's problem from a genuinely human aspect. The cases studied in this paper throw considerable light on the nature of the social and economic patterns of the refugee population, and they indicate the ways in which the refugees may be assimilated or adjusted to new patterns of life.

The scope of the present enquiry had to be limited to only one hundred families. The enquiry did not take account of the refugees who drove away straight from the Railway station to their respective destinations, but only stranded refugees. Though the facts collected by us fell short of statistical standard, the hope that intensive study of even a few cases might render valuable informations prompted us to undertake the study within the narrow scope. The findings should be considered as suggestive rather than definitive.

The method on the organisational side initially consisted in the fixing of a definite questionnaire. The questionnaire was tested several times and properly modified till it was finally accepted. On the basis of the questionnaire the method of spot investigation was followed for eliciting unbiased and uninfluenced opinion. A definite time of the day was fixed when the present writer personally conducted the investigations, and detailed informations, as to the composition of the families, the age group of the members, the occupation, the income patterns were sought. The effort was made to gather qualitative materials rather than quantitative, so as not to lose sight of the human aspect of the question.

For an objective understanding of the nature of refugee problem a precise and scientific definition of the term refugee is imperative.

The refugees are hardly a legal category, and as such a precise definition of the term is very difficult. For our purpose a refugee may be described as a person who has left his country of origin or of domicile due to political or communal oppressions, or threat of oppressions and of oppressions arising out of differences of race religion or political belief. According to the Institute De Droit International, the term refugee means, "any individual who as a result of political events which have occurred in the territory of the state from which he derived, has left that territory, either voluntarily or involuntarily or dwelt away from it, who has acquired no new nationality and does not enjoy the diplomatic protection of any other state." So within the present scope of our study, any individual who has left his place of residence in East Bengal, either deliberately or unavoidably due to conditions of political and economic insecurity prevailing there may be considered as a refugee.

The total number of persons covered by the hundred families investigated was 589. The average family thus consisted of 5.89 members. Generally the families were composed of father, mother and three children. Only seven families had members exceeding ten in number, and seven families having less than three members.

The reasons of exodus have been classified into different categories, such as high cost of living, threats, theft, loss of income, loss of profession, hooliganism, general insecurity, economic insecurity, etc. During first few months of partition a large number of upper class Hindus left East Bengal, and those who were forced to stay behind lost the valuable support of their better placed neighbours. Besides this at most all the Hindu government employess of East Bengal opted for West Bengal. This situation caused a serious disturbance in the occupational structure of the population. The new avenues of employment and occupation were almost all thrown open to the Muslims, to the exclusion of the Hindus. The restricted trade and commerce between the two dominions, high cost of living, is also responsible for the plight of the Hindus from East Bengal.

In so far as our present case study goes, Barisal, Noakhali, Faridpur, and Tipperah are the four important localities from which heavy outflow of refugees took place. 26% of the refugees came from Barisal, 26% from Noakhali, 22% from Faridpur, 22% from Tipperah, 2% from Chittagong, 1% from Dacca, and 1% from Khulna. The low percentage of refugees from Dacca and some other districts might be due to the limited scope of our enquiry.

The occupational structure has been sought to be estimated from the diverse cases by grouping certain allied occupations together for purposes of classification on a broad basis. Broadly the occupations have been classified into :—(1) Businessmen, *i.e.*, all who are traders, shopkeepers, middlemen, wholesalers, retailers, etc. (2) Artisan, *i.e.*, all those who follow a craft, *e.g.*, goldsmith, silversmith weaver, potter, ironsmith, etc. (3) Professional classes, *i.e.*, teachers, doctors, pleaders, muktars, priests, etc. (4) Primary producers, *i.e.*, cultivators, hired labourers, tillers of the soils, etc. (5) Non-producing classes, *i.e.*, Landholders, moneylenders, talukdars, jotdars, etc. (6) Miscellaneous. It would appear that more than 55% of the refugees families examined by us had some sort of business, on which their economic solvency depended. Artisans constituted 8%, Professional classes 9%, Primary producers 15%, Non-producing classes 6%, and persons following miscellaneous occupation constituted only 7%.

The general economic condition of the refugees will be apparent from the income patterns, which show that more than 40% of the refugees belong to the income group between Rs. 0-75. Only 8% belong to the income group Rs. 0-25, while 9% to the income group between Rs. 200-Rs. 300

INCOME GROUP OF 100 FAMILIES

Income per month	percentage
0-25	8%
25-50	20%
50-75	20%
75-100	16%
100-150	14%
150-200	13%
200-300	9%
Total	100%

From the sociological point of view classification of population by age is of considerable importance. The age distribution of the cases studied might render valuable information, with regard to the impact of the refugee population, on the existing age distribution in West Bengal. The age composition will be evidenced by the following table :—

AGE GROUP OF 100 FAMILIES

Age group	Numbers	P.C. to Total
0-10	... 180	... 30.5%
10-20	... 110	... 18.7%
20-30	... 130	... 22.0%
30-40	... 88	... 14.9%
40-50	... 47	... 7.9%
50-up	... 34	... 6.0%
Total	... 589	... 100%

As 30.5% of the population is between ages 0-10, and 6% between the ages 50-up, it is obvious that 36.5% of the population fall within the category of dependents. On the otherhand large percentage of population is in the mature and vigorous period of life, and they would add to the dynamic qualities of the native population, and will stimulate greater productivity. Economically such a population is most fruitful. Considering working age of the population, between 10-50, we find that 63.5% of the population is in mature vigorous and workable period of life.

The sex composition of the population has vital implications on the economic life of the community. Besides, the proportion of sexes constitutes one of the foundations of morality. If the ratio between the two sexes is disturbed to any preponderent degree, there is every possibility of a disequilibrium in the socio-biological economy. An excess of males may lead to vices and immorality, by stimulating prostitution in some form or other, which may ultimately prove to be a great socio-economic disadvantage. Again excess of females encourage promiscuity, and deprives the females of settled home life. In certain cases it might also affect the economic status of the males by placing females as competitors in the field of occupation.

SEX COMPOSITION OF 100 FAMILIES

Persons	Number	P.C. to total
Male adult	... 164	... 27.8%
Female adult	... 197	... 33.4%
Child male	... 123	... 21.0%
Child female	... 105	... 17.8%
Total	... 589	... 100%

The total percentage of female is therefore 51.2%, and of male 48.2%. On the whole the ratio is undisturbed by preponderance of either males or females.

From a study of the limited number of cases, and data collected on the basis of it, we find that the refugee movement from East Bengal to West Bengal has far-reaching effects and implications. Hitherto Bengal as a whole had two natural regions, East and West, each exhibiting a somewhat different socio-cultural pattern. This was partly due to the physical and geographical set up of the two parts of Bengal. The process of acculturation and miscegenation, which had been to some extent taking place, with the development of communication facilities, has on the one hand received a set back due to partition, on the other hand the compulsory nature of the large scale refugee movement has introduced new factors making for quickened pace of assimilation of the refugees with the people of West Bengal.

Apart from its purely demographic effects, the large scale and persistent movement of the refugees with their varying and economic and cultural patterns may if properly handled lead to a higher creative synthesis. If badly handled it may turn out to be a source of constant social friction and irritation leading to subversive or disruptive tendencies in the body politic.

In certain quarters there has been the presumption, that this influx might produce a destructive and subversive effect in the economic life of West Bengal, because necessity knows no law, and hungry mouths and a desperate future are hardly conducive to rational conduct. But from the cases studied, we can reasonably conclude that social disequilibrium in West Bengal, is likely to be a temporary phase, and after long period of progressive assimilation and adjustment much of these disruptive manifestations will disappear.

The phenomena of individual fleeing from one country to another is not new in human history. In each age we have records of such movements of population from one country to another. The uniqueness of the present refugee movement is to be found in its magnitude and consequent far-reaching social and political implications.

However groups fleeing from persecution and settling themselves in other countries have often proved to be great assets to the countries where they have settled. The foundations of American nationhood were laid by the people who had gone there to save themselves from oppressions and persecutions. The Puritans, Huguenots, the Scottish,

the Irish, the Spanish Portuguese, the Jews, who were among the earliest settlers, were all refugees. The refugee movement from East Bengal as well as from West Punjab has to be accepted as the inevitable consequence of partition on a religious basis. What we need at the present moment is an ungrudging and objective acceptance of the situation, and the putting into immediate effect sound schemes of rehabilitation for readjusting the uprooted population of East Bengal.

THE POPULATION CENSUS OF 1951

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The date of the next population census, which in normal course should be held sometime between 15th of February and 15th of March, 1951, is fast approaching. This will be the 7th regular census to be held in India, the first one having been held in 1881. The last census of 1941 was held during the World War and although information was collected on all the usual matters—in fact the number of questions put to a house-holder increased from 18 in 1931 to 22 in 1941—yet due to the war-time exigency the tabulation of the information collected was severely curtailed and many tables were compiled only on a sample basis. The 1951 Census will, therefore, have to make good the lack of information which characterised the reports of the last census. Moreover, it will be the first census in independent India—a divided India which has witnessed the carving out of a new State, the integration of many of the old States with the Indian provinces and a mass movement of population on a scale unprecedented in history. Owing to these changes the comparability of the 1951 figures with the figures of previous censuses will be lost to a great extent. With the departure of the British Civil Servants from India, the country has been suffering from a dearth of experienced administrative officers to whom the highly technical task of conducting the census can be entrusted, and every attempt should be made to see that the standard which has been maintained by the census reports in the past does not deteriorate.

The legal sanction behind the census is provided by a Census Act which is usually passed a couple of years before a census is taken. In spite of the recommendations of the Census Commissioners of the last two censuses, the Census Act has not been made a permanent Act although a permanent Act need not make the taking of a decennial census compulsory but only permissive. The Census Act makes refusal to answer questions of the enumerators a penal offence and empowers the District Officers to appoint enumerators and supervisors for census work although no one can be compelled under the Act to accept appointment as an enumerator or Census Officer. This is said to be a shortcoming of the Act specially as the Indian Census has to

depend so largely on the unpaid work of a large body of persons. In the Western Countries the modus operandi of the census is to leave blank forms with every house-holder whose duty it is to fill up the form and return it to the Census office. This method is not available in India, mainly because of the general illiteracy of our people; and we have to depend on enumerators who visit every house-holder and fill up the form themselves after questioning the householder; and in a vast country like India the number of enumerators required for this work must be very large as is apparent from the fact that in Bihar, inspite of the considerable reduction in the number of enumerators made possible during the last census by the abandonment of the one-night-theory of taking the census, their number amounted to 102,855 enumerators and 8,450 supervisors. If under the circumstances the cost has not proved prohibitive—it was only Rs. 4-4-0 per 1,000 persons enumerated in 1941—it is due to the fact that not only are the enumerators required to give their labour free but also to provide rough paper, pencils, pen and ink and also the tar or ochre with which house numbering is done. Though the system has worked so far, yet a feeling of growing resentment has been noticed among the enumerators who are coming to regard the work as a kind of forced labour which is both illegal and obsolete. The Bihar Census Superintendent of 1941 thus expressed himself on the subject: "The mobilisation of the conscript army proved a nuisance and an anxiety. The majority of enumerators did not accept appointment willingly and did their utmost to avoid selection. Petitions of appeal were common, while many enumerators had to be cajoled or bullied before commencing work. In certain subdivisions, the prosecution of certain individuals for refusing to work as enumerators even proved necessary. If the census is to continue, it seems clear that the basis on which enumerators and supervisors are appointed urgently needs revision." With the attainment of political independence, it will be much more difficult now to resist the claim of the enumerators and supervisors for some compensation for the work they are called upon to do. It has been estimated that even if the enumerators are paid a lump sum reward of Rs. 20 and the supervisors Rs. 50, it will cost the Bihar Government about 30 lakhs of rupees. Even if the census can be carried out with the help of the Karmacharis now functioning in connection with revenue and crop statistics work and the literate village chowkidars, there is bound to be demand for some special pay for this extra. It is doubtful if the difficulty will be entirely overcome even if the Census Act to be passed for the 1951 Census contains a

clause legalising compulsion. It is interesting to note that the Census Act has not upto now required every person to remain indoors even on the census night until the census enumerator has visited him.

One fundamental respect in which the 1941 Census differed from the earlier censuses is that at this census we changed over from the recording of *de facto* population to the *de jure* population, that is to say, instead of recording all the persons found within any premises on the census night, persons were recorded at their normal place of residence, *i.e.*, at the house or room which was used or intended to be used by them for sleeping purposes over a period of three months or more. In the words of the Census Commissioner "the objective of the 1941 Census could be summed up therefore as to make a record of the population as far as possible at their normal place of residence and related to sunrise on 1st March, 1941." In actual fact, however, there was only a compromise between the *de facto* and the *de jure* principles, since the standard instruction issued was that a person enumerated at one place who subsequently departed should not be struck off unless he would not be back by the 1st March, 1941. The preliminary enumeration work took about ten days which was followed by a subsequent round of visit to provide for births and deaths which had occurred between the enumerator's previous visit and 1st March, 1941. A simultaneous count on the census night (1st March, 1941) was made only of the floating population, *i.e.* those in hotels and caravanserais, vagabonds, sadhus, boat dwellers, etc. Census on the *de facto* principle is carried out in the United Kingdom and most other European countries, while the *de jure* principle is followed in the United States of America, Japan, etc. There are advantages and disadvantages of both the systems. The *de jure* system has the great merit that it relieves the strain on the enumerators who are not called upon to complete the count in the course of seven hours (7 P.M. to midnight) on the census night. It, therefore, enables the census work to be done with the help of a much smaller number of enumerators since the size of the blocks entrusted to each enumerator may be enlarged and they may take their work, which has so far been unpaid, more leisurely. The chances of misrepresentation by householders for communal or other considerations are also minimised, since it would be more difficult to inflate the population on the plea of a sudden influx of visitors on the census night. Further, a record of *de facto* population suffers from the defect that it inflates the population of health resorts, places of pilgrimage, etc, and deflates the population of big cities like Calcutta

and Bombay where the resident night population is very much smaller than the working day population. The *de facto* principle, however, has the great merit of certainty and completeness, the enumerator knows exactly the number of persons present at any spot on the census night and records them. The Census Commissioner (1941) is not inclined to give much importance to considerations which may slightly increase the accuracy of the figures, as he says that inciting the population of provinces mention should only be made in millions, as the units figure lose all significance by the mere occurrence of vital events over the great stretches of the country within five minutes of the count, and the tens and hundreds lose their significance within a month. I am, however, not inclined to brush aside questions of accuracy so lightly on the ground that they do not matter. Under the *de jure* system the chances of omission and double recording are much greater. From the statistical point of view the recording of *de facto* population combined, as in the United Kingdom, with a record of the workplace of each employed person, would seem to be better. But the overriding consideration of finance may tip the scale in favour of the *de jure* principle.

The purpose of the census is to elicit information on certain matters from the people at large. The tendency is to burden the census with the collection of more and more information. The limitations of the census staff and of the single night census method must be clearly realised. The questions put must be simple enough to be understood by the enumerator and the householder, and capable of simple answers, if possible, by a simple "yes" or "no" or a simple number. Since the same questions are to be put to all persons in the province, if not in the whole of India, questions of local interest only should be avoided. It is also desirable to avoid questions bearing on important political issues on which strong passions are likely to be roused, as it would lead to the giving of incorrect answers. Even now perhaps more questions are asked at the Indian Census than in the United Kingdom. The Census Superintendents of Sind and North Western Frontier Province strongly stressed at the last Census the need of reducing the number of questions asked at the Indian Census. Some changes in the questions asked were made in the last census. Thus, questions on infirmity (blindness, leprosy, etc.) were omitted altogether, while questions were asked for the first time on fertility of women, *i.e.*, the age of the mother at the time of the first childbirth, the number of children born, etc. Questions were asked on the following matters at the last census :—

1. Name, (2) Sex, (3 & 4) Communities, (5) Civil condition, (6) age, (7) age of mother at birth of first child, (8) dependency, (9) means of livelihood of the person on whom dependent, (10) whether paid assistants or members of the family were employed by the person enumerated, (11 & 12) unemployment, (13) means of livelihood, (14) business of the employer in the case of a person in employment, (15) birth-place, (16) mother tongue, (17) subsidiary language, (18) literacy, (19) standard of education, (20) literacy in English. The old heading of "Religion" has been replaced by "community" under which enquiries were made about "race", "tribe" or "caste". But caste figures were not tabulated unless caste organisation desired it and were willing to pay for the cost of tabulation and printing. At the last census nine such castes in Bihar deposited money to have the caste figures tabulated. I think the only question asked on dependency should be "Do you work for money wages"? as the question on partial dependency is difficult to answer and may give rise to incorrect figures. The question regarding the means of livelihood of the person on whom dependent hardly serves any useful purpose and may be omitted. I do not think we can get reliable figures on unemployment and the question may be dropped. I am also of opinion that the questions on subsidiary language, standard of education and literacy in English are not of much practical importance and may without much harm be dropped. The important problems which face the country on the eve of the census do, however, to some extent, determine the information to be collected at the forthcoming census. Our most important problems during the last few years have been the vast migrations of population between India and Pakistan and between some of the Indian States such as Hyderabad and Kashmir and the Indian Provinces; food shortage in the country and the rationing of food; and the chronic scarcity of houses in the post-war period. Moreover, we have always suffered from paucity of statistics regarding cottage industries and the unreliability of our vital statistics. What can the census of 1951 do in throwing more light on these problems? As regards territorial migrations of population, the record of birthplace might be expected to throw considerable light on this subject. If necessary, however, a question such as "Are you a post-1946 immigrant from Pakistan?" may be added. As regards food shortage and rationing, the growth of population in the urban areas and in the country as a whole will be revealed by the existing questionnaire. Moreover, an agricultural census sponsored by the F. A. O. and the U. N. O. is likely to be conducted in India in 1950.

As to shortage of housing accommodation, I agree with the recommendation of the Census Superintendent of the Central Provinces (1941) that the head of the family should be asked (a) how many living rooms there are in the house occupied by him, (b) whether he is the owner of the house or a tenant thereof and (c) his relationship with other members of the family. An attempt was made at the last census by means of question No. 11 (Do you employ (a) paid assistants, (b) members of your household? If so, how many), combined with questions 14 and 16 (the difference in figures giving the number of self-employed persons), to elicit information about the extent of persons employed in the cottage industries. I think questions 11, 14 and 16 should be allowed to remain at the next census. It is well-known that our agency for the collection of vital statistics is unreliable and this deficiency should to some extent be made good through information gathered at the time of the last census. Questions (No. 8) were then asked about the age of the mother at the birth of her first child, the number of children born and the number surviving. These give important clues to the fertility and barrenness of Indian women with the reservation that the ages given in India are not very reliable and the method of correction by grouping ages would not be applicable in this case. I should, however, like that the number of multiple births (twins, triplets, etc.) should also be recorded. Though I would not like to burden the census with further questions, it may be mentioned that the number of questions that may safely be asked would depend partly on whether the enumerators are to be paid or not, and partly, on whether the one-night census theory is to be completely abandoned. An interesting suggestion made by the Census Superintendent of Madras (1941) is worth quoting here. He says: "Only such of the simplest information as is absolutely essential from the practical point of view should be collected on a universal basis, while the more detailed and complicated studies should be made on regional sample basis." Provided the Provincial Government is prepared to pay for the cost, the census agency can be utilised to a greater extent than has been done in the past, to elicit information on local problems, specially on a sample basis.

The question has been discussed whether the census should be made a provincial subject, or at least the responsibility (along with the cost it may involve) for the enumeration work (as distinct from direction and tabulation) should be laid on the provincial Government. It may be pointed out in this connection that census is a Central or Federal subject in most countries and the remarks of the Census

Superintendent of the Central Provinces (1941) is worth consideration in this connection. He wrote: "In any case this census has shown quite clearly that if left to provincial governments as a provincial subject, there is a great danger of the census being made use of to serve political and communal purposes; and I am, therefore, emphatically of the opinion that the census should not be made a provincial subject."²

It has been urged by the Census Commissioners and Census Superintendents at successive censuses that some permanent organisation should be set up to facilitate and improve census operations. The Census Superintendent of 1941 remarked: "I have proposed elsewhere and more than once that some provision should at least be made for continuity in census matters during between-census years." The Bihar Census Superintendents (1941) reported "If there is to be any radical improvement, it can only come through the census being made to some degree permanent, to some degree a part of the ordinary normal annual administration of the province." Competent economists and statisticians like Messrs. Bowley and Robertson have said in their Scheme for an Economic Census of India: "In India, as in America, the machinery of the population census is organised hastily before the census and disbanded after the publication is complete. A new Commissioner is appointed for each occasion, who can only profit by the experience of his predecessors so far as their published reports or any special memoranda left behind by them enable him to do so, and who has no time to organise any far-reaching improvement. This subordinate staff is for the most part inexperienced in the work, which is in fact of a highly specialised character." While suggesting the maintenance of a small permanent organisation for keeping up continuity between censuses, they recommended that "while the main census of population continues to be decennial, a supplementary census with an abbreviated schedule of enquiries, mainly devoted to members, age, sex and occupation should be taken in the middle of the decennium." This permanent organisation which should be maintained for the purpose of the census, should function under the Director of Statistics who should be responsible for conducting the census. The Economic Enquiry Committee, 1925 had also suggested that there should be a Central Bureau of Statistics under a Director of Statistics and that "the Director should be able, in addition (to his other duties) to work as a Census Commissioner for the decennial population census." Now that most of the provinces have set up their own Central Bureaus of Economics and Statistics under

THE MARITIME PEOPLES OF ANCIENT INDIA

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IV

The association of the Early Aryans with any great sheet of water may or may not be true, but it is almost certain that, when they came to India, they were gradually acquainted with the great rivers of Afghānisthan, the Punjab and also probably Kāshmir including the Ganges and the Yamuna of the more eastern regions of the country. Thus, in the R̥gveda we find mention of the rivers Kubhā (Kabul), Suyāstu (Swat), Mehatnu, Krumu (Kurram), Gomati (Gumal), Sindhu (Indus), Sushoma (Sohan), Ārjikiyā (Kānsi?), Vitastā (Jhelum), Asikni (Chenab), Parusni (Ravi), Vipasa (Bias), Satadru (Sutlej), Marudvṛdhā (Maruwardhan in Kāshmir?), the Gaṅgā (the Ganges), the Jāhnavi (the Jumna) and the Sarayū.

In the story of Sudasa's victory over the Ten kings (of the Yadu, Anu, Drubhyu, Puru, Turvasu, Alina, Paktha, Siva, Bhalanas and Visanin tribes) probably we have a faint hint of the river warfare. It is told that the Ten kings were defeated due to the rise of the river Paruṣṇī¹ which drowned their men. However, this is quite conjectural and it may invite serious criticism.

Although the Aryans in India were at first a pastoral people, some of their sections in course of time were not lazy to turn gradually into navigators. The change was perhaps due to the great rivers of the Punjab, upon the banks of which they developed their culture. In this connection it is better to remember the following words of Elliot Smith (*The Origin of Civilisation*, p. 98) which explain the real cause of the rise of the Egyptian race as brilliant mariners in the remote past " the fact that Egypt was a settlement on the banks of a great river made it incumbent upon the inhabitants of the country to employ boats to maintain communication between the two banks. Moreover, it must be remembered that the great river was the great highway which linked together the village communities scattered along

¹ Kieth and Macdonnel identify the stream with Ravi; "*Vedic Index*" vol. 1, p. 499. According to Hopkins (*India, old and new*, p. 52) Jamunā is Paruṣṇī. According to Geldner (*R̥gveda Glossary*, p. 106) Paruṣṇī is a tributary of Jumna.

its course and which served to weld them into a unified state. The diffusion of culture within the different parts of Egypt itself was accomplished by means of navigation." Similar was the case with the Vedic Aryans who lived in the vallies of the Indus and her affluents. The "Nadī-Stutis" (10-75) clearly show that how the Vedic Aryans were acquainted with the river-systems of the North India. Maxmüller observes, the poet "calls them, three great armies of river—those joining it from the North-West; and in the distance, the Ganges and the Yumuna with their tributaries. I call a man who for the first time could see those marching armies of rivers, a poet."¹ Although, whether the Vedic Aryans were fully acquainted with the sea may be a debatable point,² we cannot probably ignore the fact that in the period of the Brāhmanical and Buddhist Sutras they were definitely introduced with the sea. During this time "Aryan civilisation had spread as far as the Arabian Sea and we hear for the first time of western realms of mixed origin (Sankirṇa Yonayaḥ) like Avanti, Surāṣṭra, Sindhu and Sauvira the western and eastern sea-boards were thoroughly explored. On the west coast rose the great ports of Bharukaccha and Surpāraka, while the vast region between the Amarakantaka range and the Bay of Bengal rapidly developed into the populous kingdom of Kalinga."³

That these Sauvīras were a great maritime people is very probably attested by the Bible. It is known from the Sacred Text⁴ that, king Solomon in the tenth century B.C. carried on extensive trade with Ophir or Sophir with the help of the Phoenicians. Now, this Biblical Eldorado has been identified by many scholars with 'Sauvira' which was situated in the western part of the Indus delta. It is told that gold-dusts were imported from the rich country. In this connection Macalister points out that Jehoshafat essaying to send to Ophir lost his ships. However, according to the scholar the legendary country is to be traced somewhere in South-East Arabia. If Ophir or Sophir should be identified with Indian Sauvira, we should understand what

¹ The Ganges and the Jumna are only named in the hymn, no mention being made of their tributaries.

² Abinash Das, "Rgvedic India" vol. I. About this point we have discussed before.

³ Ray Chaudhuri, "Studies in Indian Antiquity," pp. 57-58.

Dictionary of the Bible, Edited by James Hastings, p. 669. Some scholars think that the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe in Mashonaland in Africa are the traces of the once-populated city of Ophir. On the other hand few historians hold that Ophir or Sophir should be better identified either with Surparaka (Pāli, Suppāraka, modern Sopārā in the Bombay Presidency) or with mount Ophir of Johore in the Malay peninsula.

The Sauvira theory is very tempting as the Indus delta probably yielded much gold-dusts in the ancient days. The Periplus refers to the gulf of Eirion (Hiranya, i.e., gold) which is as the scholars hold at present, the gulf of Cutch.

a brisk maritime trade India maintained with Ezien-Geber in the Red Sea and the ports of Phoenicia¹ in the Pre-Historic days.

In this period the important ports of Bharukaccha (Broach), Hastakabakra (mod. Hāthāb in the Bhownagar state in Gujrāt), Surpāraka (mod. Sopārā in the west coast of India) etc. rose on the western sea-board of India. These ports not only sent ships full of cargoes to the distant lands across the seas, but also facilitated the Aryo-Dravidian intercourse between the Northern and the Southern India.

¹ For the Phoenician trade, see Cunningham, "The coins of ancient India." According to the scholar the Phoenicians obtained gold-dust of Ophir (identified by him with Sauvira) in exchange of the silver-plates of Tarshish.

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN U. P.

II

ITS ORGANISATION

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We have discussed in the previous article on this subject the past history of village panchayats in U.P. and the procedure adopted in introducing the Gaon Sabhas under the Act of 1947. In the present paper an attempt will be made to discuss the constitutional set-up of these bodies. It should be repeated here that each Gaon Sabha which is a "body corporate" having the right to acquire, hold, administer and transfer property¹ is to have in its organisation five factors, e.g., the Gaon Sabha, the Gaon Panchayat, Panchayat Committees, the Pradhan and Up-Pradhan and finally the Secretary and his staff.

The Gaon Sabha consists of all the adults of 21 years of age and above permanently residing in the area which is included in that unit. Those who are of unsound mind, are undischarged insolvent, are servants of the Government or local authority, are honorary magistrates serving in that area, have been convicted of an election offence or have been convicted of an offence involving moral turpitude, are alone debarred from membership.² The names of adults who are members of the Gaon Sabha are included in part II of the register, which is prepared and annually revised on the responsibility of the Subdivisional Magistrate and for whose safe custody the Gaon Sabha itself is responsible.³

The total number of adults in the whole province is 2,702,0790 and the total number of Gaon Sabhas is about 35,000. Consequently the average number of members of a Gaon Sabha is about 770. Actually there are many Gaon Sabhas with a total population of only about 1,000. The members of these bodies in these units would not, therefore, exceed 500 or 600. But there are some Sabhas with a far larger membership on its register. In any event all Gaon Sabhas are large bodies. The members have had in the vast majority of cases no previous experience of being associated with any organisation, public or private. What is more most of them have had no

¹ Section 4 of Panchayat Raj Act.

² Section 5.

³ Section 9 and Order No. 4913-PRD—22-48. Also Rule 3 (4).

schooling of any kind. It was, therefore, an act of faith on the part of the Provincial Government to include them in the membership of the Gaon Sabhas and entrust to them not only the responsibility of electing the President (Pradhan) and Vice-President (Up-Pradhan) of these Sabhas and the members of the executive committees called the Panchayats but also the important responsibility of carrying out by themselves as Gaon Sabhas some of the basic functions of village government. ✓

In regard to elections referred to above the Gaon Sabhas as a whole are not necessarily to meet. Different polling centres are selected and there the adults of the area round about are collected and their votes taken by show of hands. For Presidentship and Vice-Presidentship of the Gaon Sabha these votes taken at different polling centres are added by the Returning Officer and the results declared by him. For elections to the Panchayat also the unit may be divided into wards if more than one village constitute the unit.^{3a} Actually for purposes of such election in 1949 there were 70,292 wards for 34,755 Gaon Sabhas. The important fact to be remembered in connection with this election is that though the village adults were mostly illiterates, they showed considerable enthusiasm in exercising the civic privilege which had been conferred upon them. The faith in their innate capacity for self-government was not belied. First, few seats went uncontested. The number of members to be elected to the Panchayats alone was near about a million and a half. But we have been told that only about 20,000 seats in different elections were filled without a contest. This compares very favourably with the elections to the rural bodies in England where not only most seats are filled as a rule without any contest but what is more sometimes candidates are not even available for filling a seat.⁴

The proportion of voters attending the polling centres to exercise their franchise has not been recorded but we are told that in this regard also there was reason for great satisfaction. It should be remembered in this connection that voters entitled to elect the members of the Panchayat and office-bearers include women who in fact fill half the register. In view of this, there might be apprehension that many of the eligible adults would not exercise their franchise. But political consciousness among women has considerably been stimulated in recent years. The part they had taken in poli-

^{3a} Section 12 (4). It is the responsibility of the Subdivisional Magistrate to demarcate constituencies.

⁴ E. L. Hasluck—Local Government in England, pp. 40, 47.

tical movements since 1920 was an indication of that consciousness. In the Panchayat Raj elections also they did not lag behind men. They not only cast their votes but what is more many of them stood as candidates and, as it will be evident presently, were elected in good number in one or another capacity.

Under the Act the Gaon Sabha is to meet as an organised assembly at least twice a year. One is known as the Kharif session held immediately after the harvesting of the Kharif crop and the other is called the Rabi session held immediately after the harvesting of Rabi crop. Besides these two sessions, other extraordinary meetings of the Gaon Sabha may also be called either on the requisition of one-fifth of the total number of members or on the initiative of the President himself.⁵ These general meetings of the Gaon Sabhas are held in the open, usually under the shade of a tree, and have the appearance of informal gatherings. Actually, however, these meetings are strictly formal and the President of the Gaon Sabha or in his absence the Vice-President presides over them. In the Kharif session the budget which has been framed and considered by the Panchayat comes in for discussion and adoption. In the Rabi session the chief item of business under the statute is the consideration of the accounts of the previous year. In both meetings there is also an opportunity of further deliberation on different items of work. The statute lays down that in both these sessions "the Gaon Sabha shall consider the biennial reports of business submitted by the President."⁶ It is yet too early to say as to how these village assemblies of six or seven hundred people—men and women—may acquit themselves in the discharge of these important responsibilities. To pass the budget and scrutinise the accounts involve intellectual efforts which we do not ordinarily expect of the unlettered and unsophisticated rustics. To exercise supervision by the expression of opinion on the general items of business as submitted by the President also involves power of appreciation not only of the needs of the village but of the flaws in the activities of the executive, which may be thought to be beyond village people. They are not, however, as ignorant as they are supposed to be. Their shrewdness may easily be testified to by people who watch them at close quarters in the law courts and other places of business. Most of them hold land and have dealings with local officials and zamindar's agents. Consequently problems of budgeting come rather easy to them.

⁵ Section II (1) Proviso.

⁶ Section 13.

In fact the few local officials whom the present writer had opportunity of consulting held very optimistic views as to the amount of interest which the ordinary members of the Gaon Sabhas are now taking both in the local elections and in the actual work of the Sabhas. Many appeared to have clear ideas as to what the Gaon Sabhas should undertake to do at once and the way it should be done. There was, of course, a danger in another direction. The spirit of self-assertion which members of the Gaon Sabhas have shown recently in many instances may take an ugly turn. Caste divisions are still very strict in the villages and the social barriers so created may prove a great handicap to the working of the village bodies on right lines. There was a time when people occupying lower rungs of caste hierarchy were reconciled to their humble status and hardly ever questioned the superiority of the higher castes. But this humility is a thing of the past now. Not only people of humbler castes are now asserting their rights but in so doing they are in many instances pitting themselves up against people of other castes. *✓ 19.7.50*

In spheres outside the scope of the Gaon Sabhas this spirit of antagonism has now become manifest in many places. For instance the Brahmins and some other castes might do everything in connection with the cultivation of their land but would not do the actual ploughing. Those people who did this work in the past ungrudgingly are now refusing co-operation or are offering it on terms which appear prohibitive. Similarly the khas land belonging to the zamindars was formerly cultivated by a class of tenants. The latter in many places are refusing to do it any longer or have been found willing to do it only on terms which are uneconomic. Now this spirit which has become rampant in these economic spheres is threatening to actuate policy of people of some castes in the Gaon Sabhas. The danger of canalising opinion along caste lines has become real. If Gaon Sabhas are to be the instrument of general welfare, this tendency has to be checked.

In this connection much may be done by those in charge of working out the scheme of "Education Expansion" which the Government has formulated. For the execution of this scheme an Education Expansion Officer has been appointed and he has under him a body of subordinates working in different areas. The scheme is intended not only to admit the unlettered adults to literacy but also to make their mind receptive of modern ideas and information. Already on the instructions of Panchayat Raj Directorate, the Education Expansion Officer has issued orders to his subordinates to

arrange for the education of those illiterate villagers who have been elected to the Gaon Panchayats and Panchayati Adalats.⁷ Other adults who may not have been so elected but who are members of the Gaon Sabhas should also receive increasing attention from those in charge of education expansion. It is not enough that they should be made literate. It is necessary that new ideas should be infused into them. If for about six months they are admitted to these ideas some will certainly stick. Thereafter the Gaon Sabha itself should make arrangements for further education.

The Panchayat Raj Directorate also may stimulate it by sending out special lecturers to villages from time to time and asking its own inspectors also to speak to the village people and open out and enlarge their mind. For those again who are not adults yet and will influence the working of the Gaon Sabhas in the future, the primary schools which are being set up all over the province might become a good training ground of citizenship. It should be a duty of the teachers to inculcate in the boys and girls under their charge new anti-caste ideas. In fact it is time for the Government to accept it as a primary responsibility that caste barriers which are an impediment to democratic government should be removed. It should be kept in mind that the Gaon Sabhas are now the bed-rock of the whole system of government. They are not only to supervise, control and direct the Gaon Panchayats and make possible the proper working of the Panchayat Raj but in view of the acceptance of adult franchise for provincial and national elections under the new Constitution their members will be responsible for returning representatives to provincial and national legislatures and set thereby the tone of these assemblies. A river does not arise above its source. If the Gaon Sabhas remain assemblies of unlettered, superstitious, caste-ridden men, the assemblies higher up will not be of a better character. So let us proceed to educate our masters and that on right lines.

The Gaon Panchayat, which is not exactly the executive Committee of the Gaon Sabhas but is responsible for taking most decisions independently, is also not a very small body. The Union Boards in Bengal are small committees⁸ of nine members. But the Gaon Panchayat in U. P. consists of the President and Vice-President of the Gaon Sabha and from 30 to 51 other members. The actual membership depends upon the population included within the juris-

⁷ See Copy of Letter of Education Expansion Officer, No. 1241, Allahabad, June 12, 1949.

⁸ Sec 6(1) of the Bengal Village Self-Government Act.

diction of the Sabha. Where the population does not exceed one thousand, the number of members in addition to President and Vice-President is 30; if it exceeds one thousand but does not exceed two thousand it is 36, it is 39 if the population is between two thousand and three thousand, 45 if between three thousand and four thousand and 51 if it exceeds 4,000.⁹ In the election of these members of the Panchayats, due regard has to be paid to the representation of minorities. In fact the Panchayat Raj Act¹⁰ provides for the reservation of seats for the Muslims and the scheduled castes on the basis of population. But electorate is not separate but joint. At the time the Act was passed, India was still unpartitioned and undivided. The Muslim League whose influence was then considerable pinned its faith to separatist principles and consequently all members returned to the U. P. Legislature on its party ticket fought tooth and nail the provision for joint electorate and demanded not only separate seats for Muslims but wanted them to be filled also by Muslim votes alone. In the teeth of this opposition the principle of joint electorate was adopted. Now circumstances have changed. The separatist Muslims have succeeded in establishing Pakistan and Indian Muslims have accepted nationalism as their creed. It was in view of this that the Constituent Assembly has provided for straight elections to the Provincial Assemblies and the national Parliament without reservation of seats except for a temporary period for the scheduled castes. The elections to the Gaon Panchayats also should now be held on the basis of no reservation. Even for schedule castes reservation may now be abolished. It should be remembered that for Provincial Assemblies and national Parliament such reservation is meant to be only for a limited period. Now if after ten years such reservation is to be done away with, the experiment may be made in this regard from now on in the village elections.

The members of the Panchayat are elected for a period of three years. But one-third is to retire each year and to this end after the first elections held in 1949 the Subdivisional Magistrate¹¹ had to declare the elections of one-third as valid for three years, of another one-third as valid for two years and of the remaining one-third as valid for one year. Usually this election by batches is provided to ensure the continuity of an institution and of the policy pursued by that institution. In the municipal councils of Britain such elections

⁹ See 12(2) and Rule 8.

¹⁰ Sections 12(6) and 12(7).

¹¹ Section 12(3) and Order No. 4913—PRD—22-48.

in parts have been maintained also to ensure the continuity of touch between the electors and the elected. ✓ It should, however, be borne in mind that in elections to county councils of that country no such principle is observed. No partial retirement every year is insisted on there. This is because in the rural areas disadvantages of the system outweigh the advantages. In fact there is reason to believe that the efficacy of the principle of partial retirement from time to time has been overestimated. Actually if a body has not proved very efficient or has proved corrupt, there should be opportunity for the electors to remove the whole of it at one time. Those members of it who have good work to their credit would, of course, be re-elected without difficulty and their re-election would ensure the continuance of an experienced element. In the Indian rural areas where democratic institutions have come rather new, too much of pressure which annual elections will put on the people should be avoided. It may not be to the good of a village that every year the mind of the people there should be exercised for two months over the election of ten or twelve members. It must not also be lost sight of in this connection that the position of the Gaon Panchayat is not exactly analogous to that of a borough council. In an English borough the voters may hold in check the members of the council only at the time of elections. The more frequent the elections the better the opportunity for the voters to exercise their authority and voice their point of view. In a U. P. village, however, the electors may and do meet twice or more every year in the Gaon Sabha and scrutinise there the activities of the Panchayat. In view of this it seems that some fresh thought should be given to the question of annual retirement. ✓

The establishment of the Gaon Sabha was, we have already emphasised, an act of faith on the part of the framers of the Panchayat Raj Act. But even they could not be persuaded to make the Sabha the real pivot of the system. Subject to its approval of the budget, to its passing of the accounts and to its exercise of general supervision, the Panchayat has to undertake the main responsibility of framing policy regarding the execution of those functions which are entrusted to the Gaon Sabha by the Act. Although Section 12 of this Act declares the Panchayat as an executive committee of Gaon Sabha, it is something more than that. Its position is rather analogous in some essentials to that of the General Committee of the Calcutta Corporation as brought into being by Act 111 of 1899.¹² It may, therefore, be

¹² Report of Corporation of Calcutta Investigation Commission, Vol. I. Paras 76 and 77.

regarded as a co-ordinate authority to some extent and, therefore, as an anomalous body to that extent. For instance under chapter IX of the Act by-laws are to be made for better working of Gaon Sabhas—some by the Provincial Government, some by the Executive Committee of the District Board and some by the Gaon Panchayat. Such by-laws, as made by the Panchayat, are not subject to sanction by the Gaon Sabha but have to be sanctioned by the Executive Committee of the District Board. Possibly as the Gaon Sabha will gain more experience and show necessary aptitude for village administration, the character of the Panchayat will have to be changed. It may be necessary then to make it truly the executive committee of the Sabha. It is true that even now it is not possible for the Panchayat to act too independently. The President of the Gaon Sabha is, as we shall soon see, also the Chairman of the Panchayat and business is done in both institutions on his initiative.

The Panchayat is to meet at least once a month¹³ and in these meetings it is to frame policies and take decisions. Such decisions must not of course involve expenditure which has not been sanctioned in the budget. But subject to that and subject to criticism in the Gaon Sabha when it would meet several months later, the Panchayats are entitled to undertake any responsibility prescribed for them by the Act. The Gaon Panchayats meet under the chairmanship of the President of the Gaon Sabha. His term of office—three years—is the same as that of any other member of the Panchayat. But independently elected, he is liable to be dismissed only by the Gaon Sabha and that also in an ordinary meeting by two-thirds majority.¹⁴ Consequently he is not removable by the Panchayat, whose members, if displeased with his conduct, will have to persuade the Gaon Sabha to remove him by requisite majority. This comparatively independent position of the President should make work of the Panchayat smooth and efficient. In many local bodies in Bengal and elsewhere the Chairman being directly elected by the Board becomes removable by it. Votes of censure and motions for removal become a feature of local administration and hamper its proper conduct at all times. It is, of course, too early yet to say if at all ordinary meetings of the Gaon Sabha the opponents of the President in the Panchayat will not be ready with censure motions against him. But in any event that will involve delay and meanwhile the President will have opportunity of rallying his supporters.

¹³ Rule 38.

¹⁴ Sec. 14.

It is for the President to convene meetings of the Panchayat and, as noted above, to preside over it. In his absence the Vice-President takes the chair and in the absence of both these functionaries a member of the Panchayat nominated to this end by the President presides over the meeting of the Panchayat. The agenda are prepared by the President but any member may introduce any resolution or ask any relevant question by giving proper information to the President ten days ahead of the date of the meeting. So both the President and members have initiative in regard to items of work to be taken in hand by the Panchayat. But the burden is mainly borne by the President. Everything in fact hinges upon him.

Section 29 of the Act provides for the constitution of committees of the Panchayat with powers delegated to them. Rules framed in this regard provide that a committee is to consist of not less than five and not more than seven members. They are to hold office for one year. The Chairman of each committee is to be appointed by the Panchayat from among the members of the committee who are chosen by the Panchayat from its own membership. There is, however, this provision that one member may be co-opted by the committee from outside on the ground of his special knowledge and experience of the work with which the committee is concerned. The committee is to work under the general control of the Panchayat and decisions arrived at by the committee have to be approved of by the Panchayat.¹⁵ So far the Panchayats have formed five or six committees on such subjects as (i) education, (ii) taxation, (iii) sanitation and health, (iv) village protection and (v) village development.

Chairmen of the committees are expected to be important members of the Panchayat and to have good standing in the villages included in the Gaon Sabha. But neither they nor the committees over which they preside have yet much to do with the execution of schemes approved of by the committees and the Panchayat. Under the British municipal system the committees are practically heads of departments. They not only decide upon schemes of work up to certain limits of magnitude but under their supervision and control the schemes are carried out. In the Corporation of Calcutta also the same procedure with certain variations was followed until its supersession in 1948. But in the district Municipalities, District Boards and other local bodies this has not been the tradition. In

¹⁵ Rules 49-53. Rule 53 lays down "Proceedings of each committee shall be read before a meeting of the Panchayat which may, for sufficient reasons to be recorded, revise any decision of a committee."

these institutions decisions arrived at by the committees and the Boards are to be carried out by the Chairman (or President) of the Boards. His is the executive responsibility. The same system is being followed in the Gaon Sabhas of U. P. as well. So all decisions of the Panchayat, however arrived at, are to be given effect to by the President. Individual members of the Panchayat have responsibility only when they attend its meetings or meetings of the committees of which they are members. But beyond that everything devolves on the shoulders of the President.

According to Rule 47 framed under the authority of the Panchayat Raj Act the President has eight different duties—(a) to convene and preside over meetings, (b) to watch over the financial and superintend the executive administration of the Panchayat, (c) to exercise supervision and control over the staff of the Panchayat, (d) to carry out the resolutions of the Panchayat, (e) to maintain the various registers (*e.g.*, as that of adults) and undertake correspondence on behalf of the Panchayat, (f) to arrange for the assessment and collection of taxes and fees, to act as custodian of the Panchayat property and see to the execution of various works undertaken by the Panchayat, (g) to file suits and initiate prosecutions on behalf of the Panchayat and (h) to perform such other duties as may be necessary. Besides these normal functions, the President is entitled to act without obtaining any sanction of the Panchayat in case an emergency arises. He is, however to place the matter in the next meeting of the Panchayat.¹⁶ Further, by way of controlling and preventing epidemics the President may exercise all necessary powers, subject to directions and orders of the District Medical Officer of Health or of any other functionary authorised by him in this regard.¹⁷ Some of these responsibilities the President may delegate either to the Vice-President or Secretary subject to conditions he may impose.¹⁸

So, it may be repeated, the President carries on his shoulders great responsibility and unless he is appropriately chosen the Panchayat Raj experiment may be a dismal failure. In the first elections held in 1949 men with proper standing and experience were in many cases elected in this capacity. The Panchayats indeed include a good proportion of illiterate men. But attempts are being made, as pointed out already, to admit them to literacy and impart to them general knowledge and information. As for Presidents and Vice-Presidents, we have seen that they have to be elected by the adults of the whole

¹⁶ Rule 47 A.¹⁷ Rule 47 B.¹⁸ Rule 47 C.

Gaon Sabha and on that account they have to be men well known in the locality and we have no information that any illiterate or otherwise undesirable man has been chosen in either capacity. Some women also have been elected to these important positions¹⁹ but they too have endeared themselves to the local population by their past services. In some localities zamindars with large or small income sought successfully the suffrage of their fellow citizens for election as President. It is not unlikely that here and there they have come to this crucial position in the Gaon Sabha because people could not take courage in both hands to go against their candidature and alienate them. But in other places zamindars have been elected President because they were acceptable not only as natural leaders but also because they had earned the gratitude of the villagers by their past activities. In any event none of these are incapable people. It is not easy to delve into the future. But if caste prejudices which are gaining ground and to which reference has already been made are not checked in time, it is likely that people, though illiterate and otherwise not quite competent, may, because only of their affiliation to this or that caste or group of castes, get elected as President and Vice-President. By such developments the structure of Panchayat Raj may totter and fall and the experiment may have to be abandoned. So attention should be increasingly paid to this aspect of the problem and everything should be done to bring about fusion among people of different castes.

In order that a Gaon Panchayat may work properly and the President and Vice-President may get necessary help in the discharge of their duties, Section 25 of the Panchayat Raj Act provides that the Panchayat "shall, as prescribed, appoint a Secretary" and arrange for such other staff as required with the approval and consent of the prescribed authority. So far only the Secretary has been appointed. The rules prescribed in this regard by the Provincial Government²⁰ have not left much latitude to the Gaon Panchayats. The rules first lay down that under the directions of the Provincial Government two or more Gaon Panchayats may have to combine to appoint one Secretary to serve the purposes of all of them. Actually one Secretary now serves not only three or more Gaon Panchayats but also the Panchayati Adalat whose jurisdiction extends over these Gaon Sabhas. A Secretary's salary is Rs. 50 per month and it might not be possible for each Gaon Panchayat to undertake this expenditure. So for the sake

¹⁹ Actually about one thousand women were elected in different capacities.

²⁰ Rules 167 to 172.

of economy the arrangement as noted above has been made by the Government. Secondly, the rules lay down that the Secretary must have a minimum educational qualification of having passed the Hindustani Middle Examination or any equivalent of it. Thirdly, the Government on its own account gave training in a training camp in each district to a number of candidates and the rules provide that one of these approved candidates should be selected by the Gaon Panchayats concerned on the recommendation of their Presidents and the selection so made must be confirmed by prescribed authority (in this case District Panchayat Officer). It is good that the Provincial Government laid down qualifications of those who would be appointed Secretaries. It is also good that candidates should be given training by the Government and the Gaon Panchayats asked to make their selection from the approved list. To go further than this and make selection subject to confirmation by the Panchayat Raj Officer appears to suggest too much distrust of the Panchayats. In regard to appointment of staff other than Secretary also, more latitude should be given to the Panchayats after some time.

As a provisional arrangement the Secretary may serve several Gaon Panchayats and one Panchayati Adalat at the same time. But this arrangement can only be strictly temporary. When the different Panchayats and the Adalats get into full strides, either each Panchayat will be required to have a whole-time Secretary of its own or the work which he is to perform must be entrusted to some honorary Secretary chosen from among the members of the Gaon Sabha. Possibly the Vice-President may also act as Secretary. In Bengal the Union Boards have at their disposal the services of the chowkidars and dafadars who in addition to their watch and ward duties also serve as errand boys of the President and the Board. In U.P. the Gaon Sabhas have nothing to do with the chowkidars who are maintained by the Provincial Government. But it has been arranged that within the area of a Gaon Sabha a chowkidar will be given Rs. 2 per month by the Gaon Panchayat to undertake additional duties for the Panchayat and the Adalat. This scheme is not working properly. The chowkidars not unoften take the allowance but on one pretext or another avoid the responsibilities. So sooner or later some other permanent arrangement will have to be made in this regard as well. Government involves expense. It may be avoided only to the detriment of public interest.

Round the World

Treaty to be imposed on Japan ?

The War in the Far East as in Europe was concluded in 1945 and no treaty has yet been signed with Japan. During this period of four years the country has been under military occupation of the allies. Obviously this state of things cannot go on *ad infinitum*. Some peace treaty must be signed and military occupation ended. But because of the cold war now going on between the former allies themselves even the procedure of framing a treaty could not be decided upon. The Soviet Union seems to favour the instrumentality of the Council of Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. The other allies prefer the Council of Allied Occupying powers in this regard. So a stalemate exists as in many other international concerns at the present time.

Meanwhile the Japanese Premier, Mr. Yoshida, has been compelled, evidently by General McArthur's headquarters, to withdraw a statement he made in Japanese Parliament in regard to the future Peace Treaty. He had pointed out that as it would be a treaty between Japan and other countries, she must have full liberty to accept or reject it. If it did not jeopardise Japanese interests, the Government would accept it and sign it. If, however, it was otherwise, the Government would ask its representatives to walk out of the conference and reject the proposed treaty thereby. This straightforward statement evidently appeared to be too independent for the Prime Minister of a defeated country to make and he was ordered to withdraw it which he accordingly did.

The procedure of making a treaty with a defeated nation has not been uniform. It has varied according to circumstances. In 1815 the Foreign Minister of France which was the defeated country enjoyed a position of equality with the representatives of the victorious nations at the Congress of Vienna. In fact Talleyrand was one of the big four in that assembly. This was partly due to the personality of Talleyrand and partly due to the theory that the Government he represented was not responsible for what had taken place. One century later at Paris the Peace Conference met without the representatives of the defeated Central Powers. Only after the draft treaty had been prepared after protracted deliberations among the allied delegates, it was presented to the German delegates who were not, however, admitted to the Conference table. They had to carry the draft from the other side of the barbed wire. They were given a very short time for the consideration of the draft and were practically asked almost at once to accept it. It would have been following

the precedent of Versailles if in 1946 the same procedure was followed towards Japan. It is, however, one thing to impose a treaty on a defeated nation soon after victory and quite another to try to impose it after four years have elapsed since then. We believe it will be foolhardy for the allies to attempt to do anything of the kind now or later. Accept or face the consequences might be a reasonable attitude immediately after the conclusion of hostilities when bitter memories of war were still fresh and camaraderie of any kind between victors and vanquished was out of the question. But after four years the memories have become dim and Americans and Japanese are now fraternising. In view of this there is no bar to the admission of the Japanese delegates to the Conference table and once admitted they should have opportunity of full participation in its proceedings and pointing out what is in Japanese interest and what is not.

Demand for Civil Rights Laws in U. S. A.

President Truman has again in a speech reiterated his demand for the passage of civil rights laws by the Congress. It is likely that in his message to Congress in the present month he will refer to its necessity. But his appeal on this occasion may meet with the same fate as earlier. It should be remembered that at the time of election one year ago he pledged his support to such laws and since then he has tried to honour that pledge. But the Congress has turned a deaf ear to his proposals.

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the U. S. A. which was adopted after the Civil War provides: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, colour or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." By different subterfuges this article remains practically unenforced in the Southern States. In respect of other important matters also the Negro citizens suffer disabilities for which they have so far asked for remedy in vain. Discrimination in matters of residence, education, recreation and employment is practised in an unabashed manner. Lynching which is a common occurrence has gone in most cases unpunished. The authorities of the states are determined to maintain these inequalities and are positively unwilling to change the system. In view of this the Federal Government must step in with legislative and executive authority to do away with discrimination in matters of political and civic rights as also it must extend its long hand to punish lynching and make it costly in the future. The Democratic majority in the Congress, however, includes a large membership from the South. These Senators and Congressmen who are unwilling to vote for the laws which the President wants in this regard make common cause with the conservative Republicans and together they can vote down any such proposals. This was the situation a few

months ago and this will be the state of things in January when President Truman will renew his attempts to get civil rights laws passed by the Congress. The conscience of the American people has been roused to some extent in recent decades in regard to the disabilities of the Negro citizens but it has not yet been so roused as to overwhelm the white conspiracy in the South to keep the Negroes at arm's length.

Commonwealth Organisation

The Commonwealth is today an informal entity. The relations between the different members of this body are intimate but not hidebound by rules. Information obtained by the British Foreign Office is handed over to the Dominions Office and from there immediate attention of the different Dominion Governments is drawn to it. Consultation on important questions of policy takes place between different Premiers sometimes through cables, sometimes through ad hoc agents and often through the medium of High Commissioners.

There was a proposal during the War that the Commonwealth should not be allowed to continue on this informal basis. The Australian Government came out with the suggestion that some central organisation on which all the Commonwealth Governments would be represented should be set up and it should be given some definite functions. The Canadian Government, however, objected to any such suggestion. Such a central organisation would be at variance with the independence of the Dominions and the status they had enjoyed for decades. The informal ties which bound these Commonwealth units were strong because they were informal. Once a hide-bound central body was created, it would make members restive and persuade some of them at least to fall off the Commonwealth.

The British Conservative Party, however, appears to be restive under the existing arrangements. Informal relationship does not seem to appeal to it. It is making plans to set up some kind of an organisation through the medium of which the Commonwealth may manage both its inter-Dominion affairs and its relations with the other countries of the world. Mr. Gordon-Walker, the present Commonwealth Relations Under-Secretary, has in a speech condemned this attitude of the Conservative Party and asked it to drop the line of action it has planned to take.

Prohibition

A member of the Constituent Assembly drew the attention of the house sometime ago that in the East Punjab there were instances of the Prohibition enforcement staff of the police drinking the illicit liquor which they had seized. Their argument was that it was not proper to destroy a "good thing" which had come into their hands. This only illustrates the difficulty which is as a rule experienced in enforcing

prohibition laws. There is no doubt about it that drink habit has destroyed peace and well-being in many households. Among the labouring classes particularly it has wrought havoc. Sights of misery which drink habit alone brought about made Gandhiji very uneasy about it and made him a convert to prohibition. In fact theoretically there are all the arguments in favour of introducing prohibition universally in the country. But the experiences which have already been gained of the working of the principle should make many people now reconsider the position. There is first the problem of the loss of revenue which may be difficult, if not impossible, to make good otherwise. This is a serious problem in these days of shrinking income. But more important still is the administrative problem. One aspect of it is financial. While the revenue that was to be drawn from excise duty on liquor would not be forthcoming, fresh expenditure must be made on maintaining a large and skilful staff to enforce prohibition. The second aspect of the problem is in regard to maintaining honesty and integrity among the officers and men of this enforcement department. Already it is taxing the energy of different Governments a good deal in reviving integrity in their servants. Prohibition only adds further to this responsibility. Besides public administration has already become of late very complicated and nothing should be done to increase this complication at this hour. Ten or fifteen years hence when things would settle down and administration would be fully stabilised, the Governments may undertake new responsibilities in the shape of prohibition. Until then it will be wise for them to abandon the schemes of enforcing total prohibition. That, however, should not mean that any encouragement would be given to the drink evil. Taxation may be made high as it already happens to be in some provinces. High cost would automatically limit drink habit. Secondly, a trained propaganda staff may be maintained by each Government to bring home to the people the evil effects of drinking. Possibly this staff may also be employed at the same time to do health propaganda and inculcate health education among them. Enforcement of prohibition has something heroic about it. Mere propaganda may appear very tame instead. But possibly in the long run the latter, if properly done, may do greater good.

First Engineering University

The name University has so far been appropriately applied only to those seats of learning which encouraged studies of all kinds. Now-a-days, however, every branch of learning has developed many sub-branches of its own. It may not be absolutely inappropriate on this account that a particular branch of study and research should be under the control and direction of a university of its own. Technical institutions have not unoften been run in western countries on an autonomous basis. Some of them have only issued certificates and diplomas but some have been

allowed to confer degrees as well. The Faraday House in England and M. I. T. in U. S. A. may be cited as instances. In our own country the College of Engineering at Jadavpur has because of historical reasons never been affiliated to any University. It has been run since its inception by the National Council of Education. The Thomason College of Engineering at Roorkee has completed one hundred years of its life. During this long period it has rendered very useful service to engineering education in the country. Recently the U. P. legislature passed an act providing for the raising of the College to the status of a University. Actually on the 25th November last Pandit Nehru inaugurated this new University which would be concerned only with the development of engineering studies and research. Its progress in this field will be watched with eagerness and curiosity throughout the country. Possibly engineering studies at this University will have to be supplemented by sociological studies as well. But they will only be of an ancillary character. Let us hope that this new University by concentrating on engineering science will succeed in developing its cultivation on up-to-date lines.

The new Andhra Province

At the time of writing the Government of India has decided to separate the Telugu-speaking districts from the Province of Madras and to include them in the new Andhra Province. Prior to this the Congress Working Committee had recommended to the Government that such a province should be created.

It should be remembered in this connection that sometime before the Jaypur session of the Congress the Dar Committee to which the question of constituting linguistic provinces was referred brought out its report in which it set its face definitely against any such step. It was deliberately of opinion that linguistic provinces would create more problems than what they would solve and might become a disruptive force in the country. The demand for an Andhra province was thus set at naught. But Dr. Sitaramaya, the Andhra leader, defeated Mr. Purusottamdas Tandon in the election for the Presidentship of the Congress and had the opportunity of reopening the subject. The Jaypur Congress appointed a new highranking Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Congress President. This body found necessary arguments for the establishment of the Andhra Province, although in regard to the general principle of having linguistic provinces all over the country its position was more or less the same as that of the Dar Committee. In other words the Andhra Province is being set up as an exceptional measure.

It is, of course, true that the province of Madras as it exists today is vast, far flung and unwieldy. It is not bad on this score that the Telugu districts should be separated from it. It would lighten the burden

of the Madras Government. It is, however, unlikely that the general public would look at the question from that angle. The question of constituting provinces on a linguistic basis has long been on the public platform and people everywhere would think that the new decision of the Government of India is a concession more to the linguistic principle than to administrative convenience. And if concession is made in one part of the country, the case for refusing to yield to it in other parts becomes weak.

Sometime ago an important member of the Bengal Cabinet made a plea for the inclusion in West Bengal of some of the districts and parts of districts now in the Bihar province not on linguistic but on administrative grounds. Actually administrative grounds are as valid as linguistic grounds for the transference of those areas to West Bengal. But neither the one ground nor the other has yet been accepted. We have been told *ad nauseum* that the circumstances in the country are now much too unfavourable for redistribution of territories. It has been emphasised that at the present time when one thing essential is stability the *status quo* should not be disturbed. But the *status quo* is being disturbed elsewhere. We believe that the same principle should be followed everywhere.

Admission of new members to the United Nations

Of the many applications for membership of the United Nations which were submitted after the establishment of this body several have been turned down. Some of these applications have been rejected because of the opposition of the group headed by Britain and the U. S. A. and many more have been rejected because of the opposition of the U. S. S. R. and its friends. The latter include the applications of such countries as Ceylon, Nepal, South Korea, and Portugal.

Article 4 of the United Nations Charter lays down the procedure of admitting new members. It provides that only "peace-loving states" willing to carry out the obligations "contained in the charter" will be eligible for membership. The application for admission is to be accepted or rejected by the General Assembly "upon the recommendation of the Security Council." Now the Security Council may be said to be in favour of any application only when all the five permanent members and two other members supported it. If any permanent member turns against it, the decision of the Council becomes adverse. It is in this fashion that the applications have been rejected in most instances.

Now an interesting question has been raised. It has been pointed out by some that the Charter has left the decision in this regard to the General Assembly but the latter is to act on the recommendation of the Security Council. Does it mean that the General Assembly cannot decide

in favour of any application if the recommendation of the Security Council is adverse? There is nothing in the Charter to show that the recommendation of the Council should necessarily be favourable in order that the assembly might accept an application. This is a moot point and the Assembly has decided by forty-two votes by nine (with six abstentions) that the matter be referred to the International Court of Justice. It is too early to anticipate the decision of this Court. But the language of the Charter seems to be clear. "Upon the recommendation of the Security Council" should mean "upon the favourable recommendation." The provision, if possible, should be amended. But it is unlikely that the International Court of Justice would allow it to be bypassed.

Amendment of B. N. A. Act

The Statute of Westminster, 1931, made the Dominions autonomous and independent. But in regard to the amendment of the British North America Act which enshrined the constitution of Canada, the Canadians themselves decided to leave the formal jurisdiction to the British Parliament. The fact is that about this time there were grave differences of opinion in Canada as to the procedure which might be followed in regard to constitutional amendment. The British North America Act had previously been amended and modified on several occasions by the British Parliament and mostly on the advice of the Dominion Parliament. But it was pointed out now that the Constitution provided for the distribution of powers between the federation and the provinces and as such it embodied a compact between the units as to the amount of authority and extent of jurisdiction which the Dominion Government would be allowed to exercise. This compact could not be modified without the consent of all the parties. In other words the demand went forth that if the B. N. A. Act was to be amended at all it might be amended only by the consent of all the provinces. In view of this attitude, it was decided in 1931 not to disturb the existing arrangement of things.

But recently a bill has been introduced in the British House of Lords by way of transferring this authority (which the British Parliament has long exercised) to Canadian hands. The Canadians have now been convinced that they must themselves be the architects of their constitutional future. The adjustment of the provisions of the Constitution to changing times and circumstances was the task of the people of the country themselves. It could not be performed at Westminster. Secondly, as the B. N. A. Act is only a statute of the British Parliament, it has been interpreted as such by the courts. It is now being recognised that the Constitution of a country is a living thing and has to be interpreted not simply in the light of the language of the statute but in the light of the changing conditions of the country. The transference of jurisdiction from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London to the Supreme Court in

Canada will, of course, help a good deal in this regard. But as long as the British Parliament retains the right (though only formal) of amending and modifying the B. N. A. Act, it may continue to be interpreted as a statute. So there is no alternative to the withdrawing of this power from the Parliament at Westminster.

It does not, however, appear that the tangle regarding the compact theory of the Constitution has yet been solved. So long as it is not solved, we cannot be sure as to the machinery which is to be adopted in the future for amending the Canadian Constitution. The bill which has been introduced in the House of Lords is not before us. We do not know whether the power which the British Parliament is relinquishing will be wholly handed over to the Parliament at Ottawa. *re*

Reviews and Notices of Books

Islam and Non-Violence. Published by the author from Shillong, Assam.

The Hon'ble Maulana M. Tayyabulla of Assam was a security prisoner from the 9th August, 1942 to the middle of 1945. This interval was utilised by him in writing a short but very important work "Islam and Non-Violence." Its perusal by even the most casual of readers will show that the author is not only a profound student of the Al Qoran but also that his knowledge and mastery over Hindu and Christian scriptures is no less remarkable. It is an unfortunate fact that non-Muslims have, without proper scrutiny and study of Islamic scriptures somehow come to believe that the religion of which the Maulana Sahib is so well qualified an interpreter is based on violence, that the Al Qoran enjoins on Muslims the duty of spreading Islam by the sword and that it puts a premium on fanaticism. They have utterly overlooked the fact that the tenets of a religion are to be judged only by a reference to the teachings of its founder and that views based on the pronouncements of uncharitable and ignorant critics are far from constituting a reliable yard stick for arriving at conclusions. The Maulana Sahib deserves the heartiest congratulations of all detached students and men of goodwill for proving, with the help of extensive quotations from the Al Qoran and its commentators, that Islam is fundamentally a religion of peace and that the Prophet and his successors as well as all his faithful followers observed non-violence in their social and political activities. He has also proved beyond any cavil that the spirit of toleration informed the teachings and the practice of the Prophet, that war according to the founder of Islam should always be defensive war as also that obedience to even non-Muslim authority so long as it grants religious and cultural freedom is enjoined on the Muslim. The author has done a very great service to both Muslims and non-Muslims by once again reminding the former about the fundamentals of his faith and by explaining them to the latter thus removing such prejudices as may have been due to misunderstanding.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Wages. (a) General Report, published by the International Labour Office, Geneva.

This Report will be found interesting and useful by all students of Economics with special interest in problems of wages. The Report combines theoretical discussion with ample factual data, and brings within its scope such diverse topics as factors in wage determination, systems

of wage payment, main types and economic effects of wage-guarantees, the relationship between wages and the price-level, and wages and employment, and international aspects of wage policy.

AMLAN DUTTA.

Mynah at the Zoo and other Essays. By J. Vijayatunga. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price 3-12-0.

Speaking of Bernard Fonseca, a contemporary said he wrote "delicious English." The same phrase might be applied to T. Vijayatunga. In this delightful collection of essays, he reveals both the artist and the thinker. He can toy with an idea as playfully as a kitten as in his essay "On Thank You", display the gusto that literary genius inspires as in "The Creator of Burlap" or treat with seriousness the religious doctrines of Buddhism and Hinduism.

The essays have been divided into three groups. In Part I, the author's thoughts float hither and thither like thistledown. "Moon Thoughts" is a fine piece of writing.

In Part II, he settles down to serious religious discussion though his sense of humour peeps out now and again. "The Teeming Millions of India" is a popular phrase and an apt one. Now, how could one or even two or three gods look after such a multitude?

In Part III, the reader revels in fine pieces of literary appreciation—tributes to Huxley, Carpenter, Upton Sinclair, Lafcadio Hearn, etc. Autobiographical reminiscences of school days are also included. Lastly, he bids farewell to England.

Orthodox Hindus and true Christians may not agree with the ideas expressed in Part II but all Asiatics will be proud of a contemporary who has mastered a foreign tongue and handles it with such ease. In addition to a good literary style, Vijayatunga rounds off his ideas with artistic finish e.g. the conclusion of "Farewell England"—"Wash it at its source and bring to Asia only the gold."

Y. MATHIAS

The Social Philosophy of Swami Vivekananda. By Trilochan Dass Co-operatif Book Depot, Calcutta, Price Rupee One.

This is a booklet of forty pages. In it the author's aim is to present an analysis of Swami Vivekananda's teachings. The author's is doubtless a noble project. Indeed Swami Vivekananda flashed like a meteor through the firmament of nineteenth-century India. He was a kaleidoscopic genius, and his teachings cover a wide range of subjects. The author is obviously very ambitious; he tries to compress into two score of pages what in fact needs a fairly big volume. The account the author gives is therefore bound to be sketchy. He brings up too many points and

can do justice to none. Besides, the work betrays a tendency towards hasty generalization and inept comparison. It seems that the author is very anxious to affiliate Vivekananda to some schools of Western thought. But we must be slow to say that Vivekananda was a socialist or a philosopher in the ordinary sense of the term. Vivekananda is far too great to take rank with Durkheim, Karl Marx, Lenin, Dewey, Russell and Bergson.

In one context the author says that Vivekananda was a hyper-individualist, but does not explain exactly what the term "hyper-individualist" means. One should read Vivekananda's works between the lines before one concludes that Vivekananda sets individual against society.

In Appendix A the author collects quite a number of opinions on Vivekananda from eminent scholars and thinkers. But Vivekananda is much too well-known to need testimonials. In Appendix B the choicest utterances of the Swami are culled from his writings. These are indeed interesting and highly instructive. Appendix C and Appendix D are together a bit of author's autobiography. All this goes ill with the main theme of the booklet. Worst of all, undue importance is attached to the Foreword, which is beyond any doubt a jumble of words. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's portrait in the upper flap of the jacket dims the frontispiece.

The fact, however, remains that the author writes simple lucid English. The booklet is after all an attempt to sketch Vivekananda and is calculated to stimulate research in Vivekananda literature.

ADHAR CHANDRA DAS

Sataka-trayadi Subbasita-Sangraha, edited by Prof. Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay. 1948, Rs. 12-8-0.

A collection of 'good sayings,' including the three centuries of verse by Bhartrihari, edited by Prof. D. D. Kosambi of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, published by the Bharatiya Vidyabhavan and included in the Singhee Jainograntha-mala, will be welcome to scholars and others interested in Sanskrit poetry.

It is a beautiful and scholarly edition in which the text has been printed in bold type with variants carefully recorded. The critical text is not loyal to the term 'century'—69 slokas on Niti, 71 on Srīngara, 58 on Vairagya, and 7 unplaced, 200 in all, are common to all versions, and they have been placed in Group I. Stanzas from 201 up to 352, consisting of stray verses from single versions, have been included under Group II, are suspect, and stanzas 353 to 852 are stray-verses, placed under Group III.

Group IV. "Apocrypha," divided into two sections, the Vitavritta and the Vijnanasataka, include 84 and 108 or 187 slokas together. All this is followed by an alphabetical index of the slokas. Dr. Kosambi has done his work with a thoroughness which leaves little to be said by way of suggestion. The method and accuracy displayed is such as could be expected from a scholar of Mathematics.

We would only point to two expressions as deserving of emendation; one in the foreward, the other in the Introduction. Is it proper to call these verses 'epigrammatic'? The point of the epigram certainly is missing from many of them. In the Introduction, it is difficult to appreciate the term 'otherwise' in 'otherwise respectable scholars' (p. 80, 5.3.)

But these, along with a printing mistake (a single mistake which I could find) do not deserve to be mentioned in an appreciation of this stupendous, scholarly work in which the severe labour involved may not appear on the surface—specially in the preparation of the Synoptic chart. The brief notice of Dharmanandaji, saint, scholar and patriot, will be appreciated by the general public who may not be interested in Sanskrit Literature in general and Bhartrihari's centuries in particular.

P. R. SEN

Ourselves

THE LATE BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

We referred in short in the last issue of this journal to the sudden and untimely death of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar at Washington. In view of the important rôle he filled in the publication of this journal, in the life of the University and in the wider field of cultural activity of this province, we pointed out then that a fuller sketch of his life and career would be brought out in this number. In fact his work as a scholar and patriot was so varied and so continuous during the last forty years and more that in no single reference, however long, a proper tribute can be paid to his memory.

A brilliant alumnus of this University, he passed the Entrance Examination at a very early age from a school in Malda and joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a fresher. In his degree courses he studied English Literature and History. In his time the latter subject included also Political Philosophy and Economics in which he took almost an exclusive interest after passing the M.A. Examination. It is significant that as a student young Benoy Kumar did not, like most other boys, concentrate only on his studies according to the University syllabus but kept his mind open to new ideas from whichever source they might come. Inevitably and in the nature of things he was drawn to the Dawn Society which was organised and conducted by one of the most striking and self-sacrificing patriots whom it was the privilege of this province to bring forth in that decade of idealism—Satish Chunder Mukherji. The Society was founded in 1902 and remained in existence till 1906. The object of this organisation was to widen the bounds of knowledge of the University students and initiate them to patriotic ideas and service. During the short period of its existence it moulded the mind of many brilliant young men. Among them were young Benoy Kumar and Rajendra Prasad (the future Congress President).

When Benoy Kumar was finally passing out of the University, the province of Bengal, as it was then, was partitioned at the behest of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and over this issue of partition was started the first national movement against the British Government.

The movement brought out the best that was in our youngmen, many of whom instead of proceeding along stereotyped roads of earthly gain now took up national work in one capacity or another at considerable personal sacrifice. Benoy Kumar was not a pupil of Satish Chunder Mukherji in vain. He sought for no berth in the Government service which it would have been easy for a man of his academic antecedents to secure. On the contrary he joined the National Council of Education and worked under its auspices as a Professor of History and Political Science and this for a period of nine years. He was again not merely a teacher of youth during this period but was the organiser of a movement as a result of which many accomplished young men got an opportunity of going abroad to add to their qualifications in technical and other fields and make themselves more useful to society on their return to the country.

It was characteristic of the man that while he was doing his best to facilitate further studies, in foreign countries, of many of his friends and associates, he himself did not leave India till 1914. In that year, however, he proceeded on a tour in Europe and America which continued for twelve years. During this sojourn he came in touch with all kinds of men who mattered in the field of education, administration, industry and statesmanship. His energy was tremendous, his thirst for knowledge unlimited and with these virtues goading him on he acquired knowledge in the fields of Economics and Sociology which was the envy of many and which became an asset in later years to the different batches of his students.

In 1926 he returned to India and took up lecturing duties in the University of Calcutta. The present writer, though intimate with him in other capacities, had no opportunity of attending his classes. But those who had the good fortune of sitting at his feet would readily and with pride testify that never had they a dull moment in his lecture room. This is a great tribute to the memory of a Professor who had to address students from day to day and not unoften several hours every day. He was again as ready with his oral addresses as with his written articles and brochures. They came out in an unceasing flow in different journals and on different topics. Many of his public addresses and papers roused a violent controversy, e.g., in regard to rupee-sterling ratio and sterling balances. But whether we would agree with him or not, there was no gainsaying the fact that he had something to say of his own on these topics.

Benoy Kumar was associated with the conduct of many journals. Here we should refer particularly to his connection with this Review, of the editorial Board of which he was for long a member. Many of his sociological discourses were brought out first in this journal. His interest in its conduct was consistent and untiring. Even in course of his last sojourn in the United States he persuaded many scholars of that country to take an intimate interest in this publication of the University of Calcutta. His demise at this hour leaves a void which it will be difficult to fill for a long time.

Of his many publications some were scholarly and were to be appreciated only by the select few. But there were some again which were written for the general reader and intended to evoke his interest in the world outside his immediate circle. On his leaving India in 1914 he kept diaries in Bengali of the places he visited, of the men he met and of the institutions whose work he appreciated in Europe, America, Egypt and other countries. These diaries were published in a series of volumes entitled "Contemporary World". They were read with avidity by young students of schools and colleges. The first World War had already broken the insularity of outlook of the Indian youth. A new interest in the world outside was created. This was now further stimulated by Professor Sarkar's diaries.

It should be remembered in this connection that Professor Sarkar was not a mere scholar. He was a patriot. His object was not simply to enrich his own mind and extend the bounds of knowledge of the world. His mission was to energise the mind of the Indian youth, particularly of the youth of his own province, and inspire it with new ideas and outlook. Young men of a dependent country were apt to suffer from an inferiority complex. Professor Sarkar took upon himself the mission of eradicating this complex. Nothing disgusted him more than the habit of looking up to others for things which one could do oneself. It was with a view to instil the spirit of self-help and self-reliance that he translated Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*. Many of the older generation still feel grateful to Professor Sarkar for this exquisite translation of an inspiring book. It will be idle to deny that this publication had its place in the making of Bengal as it was in pre-Gandhian days.

The University Senate adopted a resolution at its meeting of the 10th December recording its sense of loss at the death of Professor

Sarkar and the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, paid a high tribute to his memory. Professor Sirkumar Banerjee, President, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts has also referred in his tribute as published in the press to the great qualities of head and heart of Professor Sarkar and to the services he rendered to Post-Graduate Studies in Calcutta.

THE LATE K. C. BHATTACHARYYA

We are grieved to learn of the death of Mr. K. C. Bhattacharyya. A distinguished student of Philosophy, he was a professor in several Government colleges in this province retiring in 1929. Thereafter he was associated with the Post-Graduate Department of this University for a few years as George V Professor of Philosophy. As a teacher Professor Bhattacharyya acquired great prestige and reputation and won the respect of his students and colleagues. We offer our condolence to his sons and other members of his family.

PROFESSOR S. K. CHATTERJI

Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Professor of Linguistics and Phonetics of this University, left for Paris early in December last to participate in the deliberations of a UNESCO Conference on the possibilities of a world Braille. He would also visit several important Continental Modern Languages Schools.

Mr. SAILENDRANATH MITRA RETIRES

Mr. Sailendranath Mitra who figured prominently in the Report of the University Marks Enquiry Committee, has retired from the University Service. A brilliant student of Pali Language and Literature, he joined the Post-Graduate Department in 1917 as a Lecturer in the subject. A good scholar, an excellent teacher and a genial and sympathetic colleague, his popularity grew increasingly with the passing on of years both among students and among Post-Graduate teachers. Apart from lecturing to his own students of the Pali Department he had to lend his services also to the Department of

Modern Indian Languages. He was further called upon to serve the University as a Tabulator and Head Examiner. In 1934 he became Secretary to the Board of Editors, Calcutta Review. One year later when the office of Post-Graduate Secretary fell temporarily vacant, he was chosen to undertake the responsibility. Thereafter when the permanent vacancy occurred he was selected by the Joint Meeting of the Executive Committees of Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science as the Secretary to the two Councils. For about fourteen years Mr. Mitra worked in this capacity and bore the burden of its responsibility. During this long period he brought to bear upon his work considerable energy, minute attention to detail and a large fund of sympathy both for his assistants and for students with whom he had constantly to come in touch. In him has retired from University Service not only an efficient Secretary but a loved and lovable man. The Joint Meeting of the two Executive Committees in accepting his resignation adopted a resolution appreciating the excellent work he had done as Secretary for nearly a decade and a half.

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DR. J. C. KUMARAPPA'S LECTURES

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, President, All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha and an economist of the Gandhian School, delivered in the University a course of three lectures on Agrarian Economics, Gandhian Economics and their implications on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd December last. His Excellency the Chancellor inaugurated the lectures and the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, presided.



Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

The candidates whose names appear below with the titles of the theses submitted by them and recommended by the Boards of Examiners to whom they were referred have been admitted to the D.Phil. degree :

D.Phil. (Arts)

Name	Thesis
Shyam Swaroop Jalota, M.A.	... The Psychologist's judgment in industrial and civil personnel selection.
Vipinbehari Trivedi, M.A.	... Chand Bardai and his Kavya
Karunamay Mukhopadhyay, M.A.	... Some aspects of the agrarian problems of Bengal.
Shaikh Ghulam Maqsood Hilali, M.A.	... Iran and Islam—their reciprocal influence
Sibapada Sen, B.A. (Lond.)	... The French in India : First Establishment Struggle.

D.Phil. (Science)

Syamaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc.	... I. Studies on Canker disease pigeonpea II. Studies on Rice diseases III. Virus diseases of plants
Pratimnath Sengupta, M.Sc.	... Studies on the dehydration of meat and the effect of dehydration on the nutritive values of meat and of edible offals
Amalchandra Chaudhuri, M.Sc.	... I. Reduction of abelian Integrals II. Affine Rollings III. Geometry of Webs
Sisirkumar Chattopadhyay, M.Sc.	... Dielectric properties of some solid insulating materials of ultra high frequency.
Bibhutibhusan Mukhopadhyay, M.Sc.	... Spectrographic study of trace elements in Indian minerals by Cathode layer arc and cathodeheminescence.
Hrishikes Chattopadhyay, M.Sc.	... Studies in some technological aspects of Jute
Purnendukumar Basu, M.Sc.	... Parametric relations and statistical labels for the distribution functions of classical and studentised D^2 —Statistics and the use of these distribution functions as graduating populations for frequency data.

D.Phil. (Science)

Amalkumar Chakrabarti, M.Sc.	...	I. Theory of fragmentation chromosomes and evolution of species. II. Cytogenetics of Musaceae
Sobhanlal Bandyopadhyay, M.Sc.	...	Enzymatic studies and studies on the action of ammonium Halides of Epichlorhydrin.
Nareschandra Ghosh, M.Sc.	...	Studies on nicotinic acid and ascorbic acid in relation to carbohydrate metabolism.
Harischandra Ray, M.Sc.	...	Studies on Systematics of Indian Molluses
Sudhindranath Sen, M.Sc.	...	The structure of Anthraquinone
Satischandra Gangopadhyay, M.Sc.	...	Studies on the absorption and the fluorescence spectra of some aromatic hydro-carbons under different physical conditions.
Matiranjana Dasgupta, M.Sc.	...	Observations on some sporozoa (Protozoa)
Gaganbihari Bandyopadhyay, M.Sc.	...	On Homologous configurations of Stellar Bodies (an Astrophysical Problem of Gaseous Configuration).
Gopalchandra Mitra, M.Sc.	...	Organogenesis and nature of the Stipules in Angiosperms (Dicotyledons).
Kamalakanta Majumdar, M.Sc.	...	Studies in Natural Graphite

The undermentioned candidates whose theses were recommended by Boards of Examiners to whom they were referred, have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Literature :—

D.Litt.

Birendrakumar Bhattacharyya, M.A.	...	An enquiry into the foundations of Logic
Makhanlal Raychaudhuri, M.A.	...	The State and Religion in Mughal India

The undermentioned candidate whose thesis was recommended by the Board of Examiners to whom it was referred, has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science :—

D.Sc.

Anilkumar Gangopadhyay, M.Sc.	...	Cation exchange in Silicate minerals related to soils and clays.
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A. F. DASGUPTA,

Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Notice

C/2880/Aff

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with Sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1949-50, the Syamsundar College, Aharbelma, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Second Language) to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates at the examination in that subject from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,

Registrar.

Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate Item No. 26 dated 28th October, 1949.

"Read a memo. from the Registrar, Agra University, debarring the undermentioned candidates from appearing at any examination of the University before 1951 for having used unfair means at the Supplementary B.A. Examination in August, 1949 :—

1. Charan Behari Lal Jonari—Roll No. 837 Urdu I Paper
2. Rameshchandra Mohra—Roll No. 912-General English II Paper
3. Krishna Kumar Shukla—Roll No. 2401 Economics I Paper

Ordered—(1) To be recorded.

(2) That the names be published in the Calcutta Review.

D. G.
for Asst. Registrar."

An extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate Item No. 23, dated 28th October, 1949.

"Read a letter from the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, forwarding a copy of an announcement regarding Bawa Bachittar Singh Prize Essay 1950 and requesting that suitable publicity may be given to the subject in the University and educational institutions under its jurisdiction.

The essays to reach the Secretary, United Service Institution of India, Simla, by 15th February, 1950.

The competition is open, among others to research scholars and staffs recognised Indian Universities.

First Prize—Rs. 500; second prize—Rs. 250.

Resolved—That due publicity be given in the matter".

Notification No. C-2715A-Aff.

It is notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor has been pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Balurghat College, West Dinajpur, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Logic, History, Civics, Mathematics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates for the Examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

An extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate Item No. 172, dated 17th September, 1949.

"172. Read a letter from the Registrar, East Punjab University, stating as follows :—

The Principal, S. A. Jain College, Ambala City (East Punjab) has rusticated Gain Singh, s/o, Ch. Paras Ram, Registered No. 47-oz-15395, student of 4th-year class of his college, for one year on account of gross misconduct. He shall be eligible to appear in the B.A. Examination of the University in 1950, provided he joins a college after the period of his rustication is over and qualifies himself in all respects.

Ordered—(1) To be recorded.

(2) That the matter be published in the Calcutta Review.

THE SINDH HINDU SEVA SAMITI,

127, MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,

Post Box No. 459, Fort,

BOMBAY,

The Registrar,
Calcutta University.

October 18, 1949.

Dear Sir,

I shall feel grateful if you be good enough to kindly publish the following announcement in the valuable columns of your paper :—

LITERARY COMPETITION.

"Literary Contributions both in English as well as in Sindhi, carrying prizes of Rs. 100/-, Rs. 500/-, and Rs. 200/- in English; and Rs. 500/-, Rs. 200/-, and Rs. 100/- in Sindhi, for the first three best entries in each Section, are invited, on

**" THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MASS MIGRATION
OF HINDUS FROM SIND."**

The compositions should contain, substantiated as far as possible with authentic facts and figures, illustrations, and quotations from reliable records, the immediate and remote causes of their migration from Sind, the expediency and probability of returning back, their plans, for, effective and quick rehabilitation, and suggestions for the preservation of their distinct character and culture including language, best suited to the present changed environments.

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Compositions must be type-written, and if in Sindhi very clearly written, double-spaced and on one side of the paper only.

An entrant may compete in both the languages.

In the award of prizes, the judges' decision will be final.

In case of any rewarded writing being published all the copyrights shall vest in the Sindh Seva Samiti, under whose auspices the competition is being held.

30th November, 1949 is the last date for acceptance of contributions which may be addressed to Mr. Nanik G. Motwano, Hon. Gen. Secretary, Sindh Seva Samiti, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Post Box No. 459, Fort, Bombay."

As the matter is in the service of the displaced brethren, you will kindly make the announcement, free of charge, in other case, you will kindly return the same.

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Yours in Service,

Sd. ILLEGIBLE

HONY. GEN. SECRETARY.

UNIVERSITY OF SAUGAR NOTIFICATION

Saugar, the 10th September, 1949.

No. 5—In partial modification of this office Notification No. 3 dated 2nd May, 1949, it is hereby notified as per Resolution No. 28/22 (iv) of the Executive Council meeting held on 31st July, 1949, that the following candidates who appeared at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1949, are hereby declared disqualified for admission to any University Examinations before the year 1950 instead of 1951 as previously announced.

Roll No.	Enrol No.	Name of candidates.	Father's name	College	Exam.
55	A/2348	Dhanwantary Sharma	Dr. R. P. Sarma	University Teaching Dept.,	I.Sc.
294	A/2645	Nilamber Prasad Rutley	Shri Mangal Prasad Rutley	Mahakoshal, Jabalpur.	I.Sc.
77	A/1988	Narendra, Singh Chauhan	Shri Mahadeo Singh Chohan	Do.	B.A. (Pass).
353	A/1584	Krishna Kumar Chaurasia	Dr. Ganesh Lal Chhattisgarh College, Raipur.	...	Do.

By order of the Executive Council,

Sd. Ishwar Chandra,

Registrar,

University of Saugar.

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

ORDER

I

The following examinees, having been found guilty of attempting to use unfair means at the University Examinations held in March-April, 1949, are disqualified for admission to any University examination to be held before the year 1951, viz.—

Roll No.	Name in full.	Examination.	College.
884	Chandra Singh Ahiloirao Ahirrao	Intermediate in Arts.	Hislop Coll, Nagpur
61	Govind Pandharinath Joshi	First Examination for the Diploma in Engineering.	Govt. Engineering School, Nagpur.
62	Govind Paabhakar Harkare	Do.	Do.

II.

Roll No. 280, Shrimati Shakuntala Govind Mhaisekar, a non-collegiate candidate at the Intermediate Examination in Arts held in March-April, 1949, is disqualified for admission to any examination of Nagpur University to be held in future, for having been found guilty of attempting to obtain preferential treatment in the valuation of her answer-books at the examination.

By order of the Executive Council,

N. MISRA

Nagpur :
The 14th September, 1949.

Registrar,
Nagpur University,

No. 6029

Dated Nagpur, the 14th September, 1949.

Copy forwarded to—

1. Shri Chandra Singh Ahiloirao Ahirrao, c/o Sardar Ahiloirao Ahirrao Mahal, Nagpur;
 2. Shri Govind Pandharinath Joshi, c/o Shri P. G. Joshi, Station Master, Borkhedi, G. I. P. Bly., Post—Bela, Nagpur;
 3. Shri Govind Prabhakar Harkare, c/o Shri P. D. Harkare, Pleader, Saoner, Dist.—Nagpur;
 4. Shrimati Shakuntala Govind Mhaisekar, Hadgaon, Dist. Nanded (Dn.),
 5. the Principals of all Colleges in the University,
- and 6. the Registrars of all Universities in India, for information.

N. MISRA

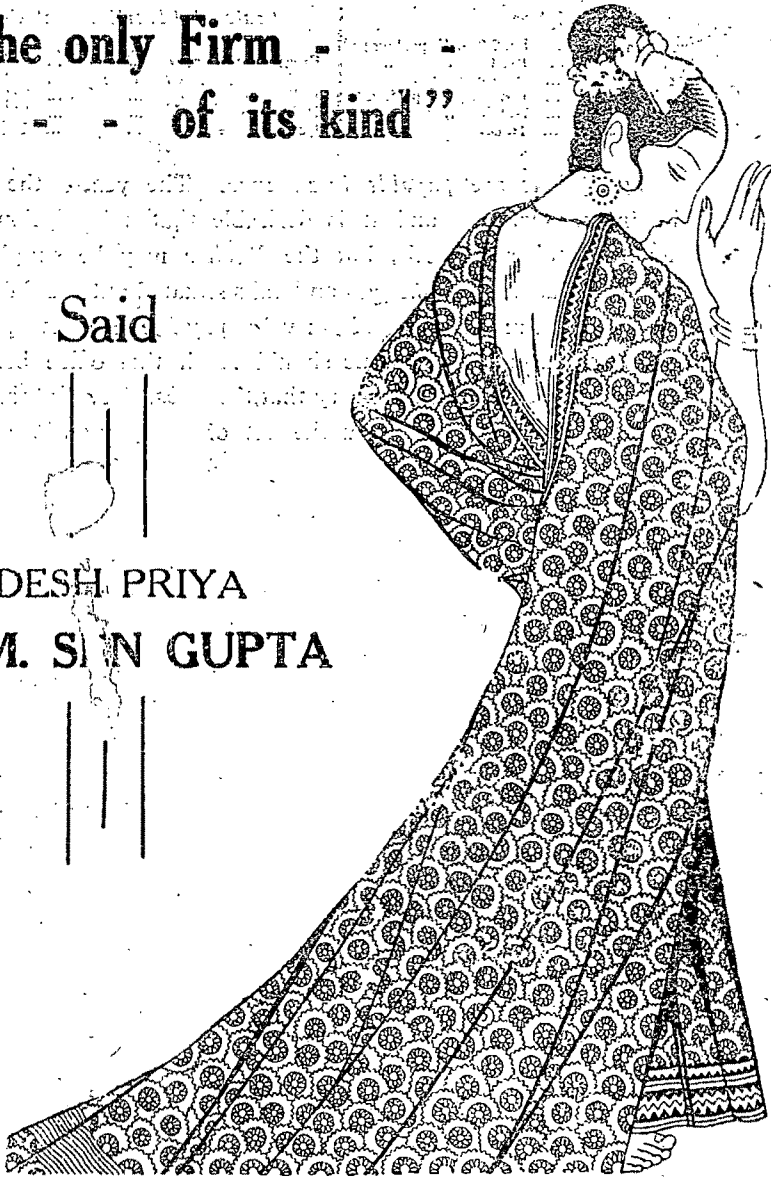
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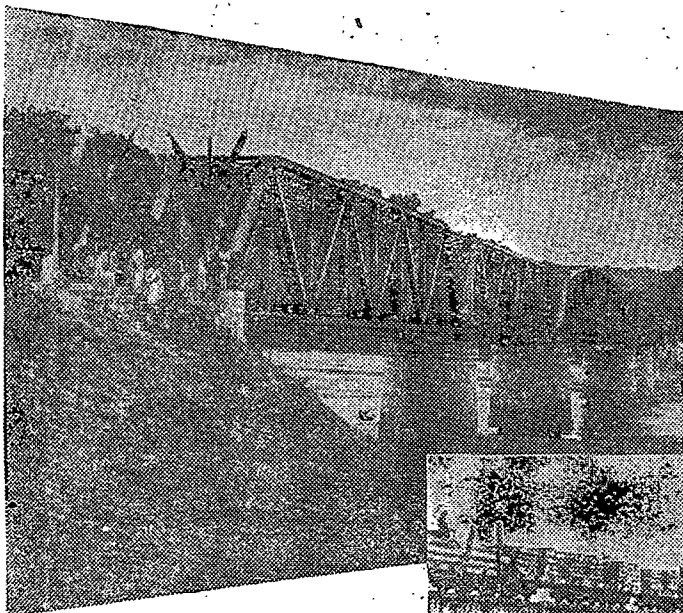
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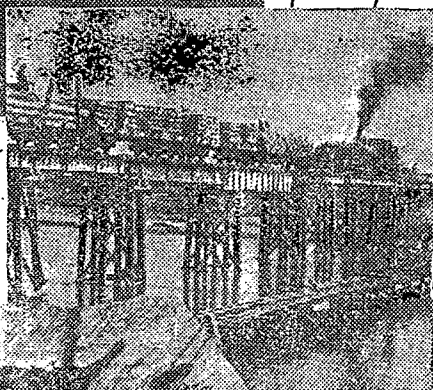
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1950

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1950

FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN CULTURE¹

SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

At the very outset I should like to make two observations. First, on account of the shortness of the time at my disposal, I shall confine my discussion to the Vedic period of Indian history, when the foundations of Indian culture were laid. Second, I shall for the most part use the word Indo-Aryan in place of the word Hindu, since the people of India during the period under discussion were not known by the latter name. The word Hindu, a corruption from Sindhu, the great river that flows through the West Punjab, was of foreign origin, having been first coined by the Persians and later adopted by the Greeks during Alexander's time.

RACIAL FOUNDATION

The Indian peoples, from the standpoint of language and physical type, can be classified in four groups. First, the majority of modern high-caste Hindus, tall, light-skinned and long-nosed, and speaking languages derived from Sanskrit, are the descendants of a pre-historic people that dwelt in northwestern India and the adjacent provinces and professed a culture known as the Aryan. The Sanskrit

¹. On Wednesday evening, Nov. 9, 1949, the Second Annual Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture was held at the Kent-Hall of Columbia University, New York City. This lecture was provided for by Mary Keatinge Das Fund, established in Columbia University for the promotion of Indian Studies and the fostering of cultural relations between India and the United States by Taraknath Das Foundation whose object is "to promote human welfare, friendly relations and cultural co-operation among nations."

The meeting was presided over by Prof James Gulwan of the Department of Philosophy. Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes said prayer for the occasion, and Swami Nikhilananda of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Center of New York delivered a learned lecture on Foundation of Hindu Culture. The meeting was concluded by a short speech by Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor of History and Lecturer on Indian History and Civilization at Columbia University.

word *Ārya* means noble or respectable. Those living for the most part in southern India, physiognomically somewhat different from the *Āryans*, whose languages are not rooted in Sanskrit, come from Dravidian ancestry. These two groups, during the historical period, have intermixed to a considerable extent. Third, there is a primitive type, short in stature, dark-skinned, and snub-nosed. They are the descendants of the non-*Āryan* aborigines of India. Living in the hills and jungles, and known by such names as *Kols*, *Bhils*, and *Mundas*, they speak languages quite different from those of the Indo-*Āryans* and *Dravidians*. Fourth, there live on the slopes of the Himalayas and the hills of *Āssām* a class of people having definite Mongolian features. The *Gurkhās*, *Bhutiyas*, and *Khāsis* belong to this group. The last two groups have not made much progress in civilization. All these four groups form, rather loosely, what is today called the Hindu race.

Recent archaeological excavations in the Punjab, Sind, and the neighbouring districts of Beluchistan have unearthed a civilization fifty centuries old. The ruins of Mohenjo-Dāro show that the city which has been excavated was built on top of seven other similar cities all built on the same site. Thus the Indus Valley civilization was contemporary with, if not earlier than, the civilizations that flourished on the banks of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. Mohenjo-Dāro was a spacious city containing large brick houses, extensive public buildings, pillared halls, a great bath, wide streets, and an elaborate drainage system. In it lived an urban people, as can be judged from their food, dress, ornaments, household articles, domestic animals, weapons of war, seals, specimens of the fine arts, and evidences of trade and commerce. They possessed considerable technical knowledge, as proved by the presence of the potter's wheel, kiln-burnt bricks, and metal castings and alloys. The people of the Indus Valley enjoyed many of the amenities of urban life. One of the objects of their worship was the Divine Mother, the energy which is the source of all creation. Another symbol of worship was a male god with three faces, seated in a meditation posture, like a yogi, and surrounded by animals. Both these images have their prototypes in the Vedas.

The relationship of the Indus Valley civilization with the *Āryan* civilization is a controversial subject. Some say that the latter is a part of the Indus Valley civilization; but arguments against such a contention are also advanced. The Indus Valley civilization bears a striking resemblance to the ancient civilizations of Sumer and

Mesopotamia. There appears to have existed an active intercourse between them. The question is not settled whether civilization originated in the Indus Valley and then spread towards the West, or *vice versa*. The age of the Vedas was fixed by Max Müller at the latter half of the second millenium B.C., though Jacobi and Tilak pushed the date farther back. However that may be, the present culture of India is one of the oldest living cultures on earth and is unique in that it has shown a remarkable continuity of ideals through the ages in spite of many political upheavals and military conquests.

THE VEDAS

The Vedas are the earliest literature of the Indo-Āryans. They contain, besides the rules for worship, certain spiritual truths and laws revealed to the rishis, or seers, whose minds had been purified by the practice of meditation and self-control. These scriptures were held in such high respect that no one dared to distort their words or change them in any way. For many a century the teachings were transmitted orally before they were committed to writing. Great emphasis was laid on the precise pronunciation of the Vedic texts. The non-Āryans were often ridiculed as "noseless" (anāsā) on account of their inability to utter the Vedic words correctly.

The Vedas, four in number, are divided into two sections: Mantra and Brāhmaṇa. The former is a collection of hymns and prayers used in sacrifices and religious worship. The Brāhmaṇa section contains rules and regulations for sacrifices, deals with their various accessories, and also elucidates the meaning of the abstruse mantras. The Upanishads form the concluding portion of the Brāhmaṇa section and deal with the philosophy of the Indo-Āryans.

The six auxiliaries of the Vedas, known as Vedāṅgas, are phonetics (śikṣhā), rituals (kalpa), grammar (vyākaranam), etymology (nirukta), metre (chhandas), and astronomy (jyotis). Some idea of the wide range of subjects studied by the Indo-Āryans may be gathered from the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (VII.1.2). These include the Sāma-Veda, Rīg-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Atharva-Veda, legend and ancient lore (itihāsa-purāṇa), the science relating to the ancestors (pitṛya), mathematics (rāśi), the knowledge of portents (daiva), chronology (nidhi), dialectics (vākovākya), ethics (ekāyana), etymological interpretations of divine names (devavidyā), the Knowledge of the Absolute (Brahmavidyā), demonology or the science of the elements (bhutavidyā), military science (kṣhatraavidyā), astronomy (nakshatraavidyā),

the science of snakes (sarpavidyā), and music (devajanavidyā). They all belong to the vast domain of the Vedic culture. It is no wonder that the Indo-Āryans regarded the Vedas with such awe. This also accounts for the popular saying that if a thing is not found in the Vedas, it simply does not exist anywhere.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The family was the foundation of the social life. The members of the family lived in the same house, which had a central fireplace for sacrificial purposes, a sitting-room, and women's apartments. Girls, who were considered inferior to boys and so were not always wanted, received nevertheless an excellent education. They were given in marriage after they had attained full development. They retained their individuality and took an important part in family activities. Though dependent on men, they radiated grace and contentment and were modest and of cultivated habits. Women were taught that the main purpose of married life was to beget intelligent and heroic sons for the protection and propagation of the Vedic lore. Some women, known as Brahmvādinis or preachers of Brahman, remained celibate, engaged in the teaching of Brahman. There is no evidence of the seclusion of women in Vedic times. "Decked and shining forth like sunbeams," they participated in festal gatherings. The wife conciliated the husband in the event of a quarrel and often brought him back to a sense of duty when, lost in meditation, he neglected his householder's duties. Women, however, could not participate in political assemblies. Polygamy was in vogue, but not polyandry.

Some women were highly spiritual and composed Vedic hymns. The names of Viśavārā, Ghosā, and Apālā may be mentioned in this connexion. In the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad* (II. iv. 3), Maitreyi disdains worldly possessions and engages her husband in an abstruse discussion regarding the soul's immortality. The same Upanishad (III. vi. 1) describes a conference of learned theologians and philosophers in which Gārgi, another woman, takes a prominent part. The *Rig-Veda* (X. cxxv. 1-8) describes a woman seer who, having realized the ideal of oneness with the universe, exclaims: "It is by me that one eats food, sees, and breathes, and hears, what is said. . . Having created all these worlds, I move freely, like the wind. I, who am beyond the sky and beyond this earth, came to be so by my own majesty."

The Vedas mention the care to be bestowed upon children. The religious ceremonies at birth included a prayer for the baby's longevity (āyur), vitality (varcho), fame (yaśo), and strength (balaṁ). The hymns at the time of the ceremony of the first rice-eating (annaprāsana) emphasize the importance of cleanliness, careful cooking, good water, and healthful food. Some of the ailments of babies were ascribed to spells and charms.

At the age of five, boys and girls were initiated into the study of the Vedas. The boys left their homes and lived in the family of a teacher (gurukula). Taking the vows of service to the teacher, chastity, and austerity, they disciplined themselves both physically and mentally and observed the rules of good health, especially the care of the teeth and eyes. Studentship lasted for twelve or sixteen years, after which they became householders. Some preferred to remain celibate all through life, devoted to study and spiritual practices.

Men and women were attentive to dress and adornment. Their garments, made of cotton, deerskin, or wool, were of variegated colours and embroidered with gold. Floral wreaths were common, as they still are in southern and western India. The daily food consisted mainly of parched grain, cakes, milk, various milk products, fruits, and vegetables. Meat was also in common use, and it was generously consumed at times of festivity. An exhilarating drink known as soma is frequently mentioned as a favourite beverage. It also played an important part in the Vedic sacrifices. The favourite amusements were racing, hunting, war-dances, chariot-races, and dicing. Women were particularly fond of dancing and singing to the accompaniment of lutes and cymbals. During the later Vedic period, dramas came into vogue and some musical instruments are mentioned that were furnished with a hundred strings. Life in general was joyous and gay.

In the beginning the Indo-Āryans settled mostly in villages (grāma); and gradually cities (puram) came into existence. Stone walls are mentioned. An official called grāmanī (village chieftain), elected by the people, was in charge of both the civil and the military affairs of the community. Homesteads and arable lands were owned by individuals or families, and grasslands held in common. Agriculture was the chief occupation, the fields being irrigated by canals. Cattle and domestic animals were reared, and people engaged in trade and industry. The chief articles of trade were clothes, coverlets, and skins, and business was carried on chiefly through barter. Among the standard units of value are mentioned the cow (godhana) and the

gold necklet (nishka). No coin of the Vedic period has been discovered. The principal means of transportation on land were chariots and wagons, drawn respectively by horses and oxen. Rivers were navigated, and mention is made of the sea (samudra) "without support or hold or station." But in the later Vedic period people had intimate knowledge of the sea, and according to some scholars a brisk trade flourished with Babylon. The industries consisted of wool-work, metal-work, tanning, pottery, and weaving. Gradually specialization set in. People were affluent and no mention is made of the devastating famines that plagued the country in later times.

A unique feature of the Indo-Āryan social organization is what is known as the varnāśramadharmā, or the laws governing the various groups in the community and also the stages of the individual life. Through these two institutions the Indo-Āryans applied the doctrines of their religion and philosophy to society and to the individual, the goal being the fullest realization of the spiritual dignity of the individual through the active co-operation of society. The groupings of society, later known as the system of caste, sought to eliminate friction between its different members and emphasized their organic unity. The āśramas, or stages in individual growth, were designed to solve the problem of the perennial clash between society and the individual and to show that individual freedom does not conflict with social demands. Largely because of this system, Indo-Āryan society has preserved up to the present time its integrity and cohesiveness in the face of the onrush of aggressive foreign ideals.

Society was conceived of, in the Rīg-Veda, as a person. One reads in the Puruṣa Sukta (Rīg-Veda, X xc 12) that the brāhmin, or priest, was his mouth, the kṣhattriya, or warrior, his arms, the vaiśya, or merchant, his thighs, and that the śudra, or manual labourer, sprang from his feet. The word varna suggests that the original division was influenced by the colour of the skin. But later many non-Āryans were assimilated and assigned their proper places in the social system. Barbarians like the Huns, the Saks, and the Beluchis became members of Hindu society and many of the kṣhattriya princes of Rājputāna are their descendants.

The brāhmin group was in charge of sacrifices and other religious ceremonies and of the teaching of the Vedas. The kṣhattriya group wielded the kingly and military power and defended the country from internal disorder and external invasion. The vaiśya group was in charge of agriculture, trade, and commerce and looked after the economic interests of society. The śudras rendered menial services.

The first three groups were permitted to study the Vedas and enjoy the amenities of cultural life. The śūdras received spiritual knowledge indirectly, through popular lectures and the study of secondary religious books. The brāhmins, the spiritual heads of society, practised truthfulness, austerity, and voluntary poverty and rendered spiritual service to others; they acted as advisers to the king and engaged in teaching. The kshātrīyas cultivated such chivalric virtue as heroism, uprightness, justice, and kindness. The vaiśyas accumulated money and enjoyed many comforts but held their property in trust for the welfare of society. The śūdras, engaging in labours of various kinds, obeyed the higher castes and received protection from them. The four castes were interdependent, being vital parts of society; the welfare of one was related to that of the others. The purpose of the system was to prevent the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

In Vedic times the classes were not stratified. There was hardly any restriction about inter marriage, occupation, or commensality. The taking of a bride from a lower class was approved. "I am," says a Vedic rishi, "a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother a grinder of corn." The various members of a family held different views and followed different pursuits. There was no ban on taking food cooked by śūdras, and the pollution of food by touch was unknown. The class system was not hereditary; it was based on virtues and duties (una-karma).

In later Vedic times seeds of far-reaching consequence were sown in the class system. As society became more complex, the two higher classes, the brāhmins and the kshātrīyas, began to claim special privileges. The vaiśyas and śūdras were denied certain privileges. The power of the brāhmins, as custodians of religious ceremonies and philosophical wisdom, increased. The kshātrīyas from time to time contested this supremacy. The lower communities began to be divided into functional groups of chariot-makers, smiths, carpenters, tanners, fishermen, etc. A stigma gradually became attached to the professions of the śūdras. But still social harmony was not broken, as justice, charity, uprightness, toleration, and broadmindedness were the cherished virtues of the higher classes. To a considerable extent the fluidity of the class system was preserved. In later times the classes became hereditary.

Outside the regular classes were outcastes such as the vrātyas and the nishādas. The former belonged to the Āryan fold but became outcaste on account of their non-performance of the Vedic rites. But from time to time they were incorporated into society through

purificatory ceremonies. The nishādas were dark-skinned hunters whose descendants still lead a primitive life in the hills and jungles.

There was another class of Āryans who lived outside society. They were the wandering monks, hermits, and recluses, who devoted themselves to contemplation and spiritual pursuits.

The division of life into four stages made a man's journey through the world a pilgrimage of which the attainment of freedom was the final goal. During the first stage (brahmacharya) he was a student of the Vedas, living with his teacher and practising chastity, self-control, and other spiritual disciplines. After completing his studies, he entered the second stage (gārhasthya) and became a householder. He propitiated the Deity and served society following the profession of his caste. In the third stage (vānaprastha) husband and wife retired from the world and devoted themselves to contemplation. During the last stage (sannyāsa) a man gave up his allegiance to the family and to society and became a sannyāsi, or wandering monk. He sought freedom in the life of the Spirit. He was not to be tempted by honour or riches or social position. He served society as a spiritual instructor and also as a living witness of the reality of God and the unsubstantiality of material things. Thus he enjoyed the peace and freedom that come from the fulfilment of desires and duties, and that all beings crave. Though the life of renunciation belonged to the last stage of life, yet, according to a Vedic injunction, a man could give up the world whenever he heard the call of the Spirit. Each stage in a man's life had its appropriate duties and obligations.

The word dharma is the key to understanding the evolution of society and of the individual in the Indo-Āryan culture. Even in the early Vedic period the Āryan discovered a rhythm in nature, a coherence, an orderliness, sequence that could be calculated and relied upon. They found the same orderliness in the moral world. This was expressed by the Vedic words ritam and satyam—orderliness and truth. Dharma—derived from the root *dhri*, meaning to hold—is the manifestation of ritam in the social and individual life. The law that upholds society and moves it forward does not conflict with individual progress. There need not be any clash between society and the individual. Rather it is the dharma of society to show the individual the way to the fulfilment of his own dharma, which is the realization of his highest potentiality, transcending all social restrictions. A man inherits from his past certain aptitudes and instincts, which determine his dharma, or duty, at a particular stage of

evolution. This dharma is the law of his inner growth ; he cannot go against it without doing violence to his nature. It is the duty of society to give man facilities for the suitable expression of his dharma. The institution of castes and stages of life fulfils this task. However it may appear antiquated in modern times, the caste-system has rendered Hindu society invaluable service in the past. It protected, by its iron-clad laws, the social fabric of the Hindus from the levelling doctrines of Islām, which swept away everything with which it came in contact in different parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa.

The Indo-Āryan thinkers, in their attitude toward life, combined both realism and idealism. They defined the four ends of life as dharma, artha, kāma, and moksha. Dharma is ethical discipline, the basis of life itself. Artha, or wealth, is indispensable ; without it not only is physical life on earth impossible but we cannot show active sympathy for others. Kāma, or sense pleasure, adds to life's enjoyment and refinement. Wealth and sense pleasure must be pursued in accordance with dharma, or righteousness ; otherwise the desire for wealth degenerates into greed, and the latter into voluptuousness. But all these three belong to nature, to the phenomenal world. They find their ultimate fulfilment in the transcendental experience of moksha, or communion with the Infinite. When the wick burns at the tip, the whole lamp radiates light. Life is often compared to a lotus plant, which is rooted in the mud but whose blossom rises above the water and is illumined by the light of the sun.

ARTS AND SCIENCES

The development of architecture can be gathered from the mention, in the literature of the later Vedic period, of palaces supported by "a thousand columns" and provided with "a thousand doors." Castles and other structures with "a hundred walls" are also mentioned. Physicians treated patients with charms and spells as well as with herbs and drugs. Some advance was made in surgery. Astronomy was a subject of special study. Several stars were discovered and named. It is not clear whether the Indo-Āryans knew the art of writing ; but the prehistoric people of the Indus valley were familiar with it. Literature blossomed in poetry. Some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda preserve for us the finest specimens of this art. The Upanishads express the loftiest philosophical ideas in sublime poetry.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Indo-Āryans in Vedic times lived in communities agricultural in character. The patriarchal family was the basis of social and political organization. Each community has its common chieftain, elders, officers, herdsmen, guards, and policemen. Both monarchical and republican forms of government are mentioned. Elective monarchies were not unknown. The mention of the word *samrāt* suggests paramount rulership. There existed a powerful aristocracy whose members, men of intellect respected by kings, were "born with golden armour and fit to lead the people." The early Āryan often had to fight the non-Āryans. Military necessity was partly responsible for the office of a king, which was generally hereditary. Most of the rulers were *kshatriyas*. A good king was respected as the "guest of the people" (*viśāmatitbī*). He was dependent upon the elders for military aid, religious services, and economic resources. His sole concern was the people's welfare. They were expected to observe the law and not prey upon one another after the method of fishes (*matsyanyāya*), the strong devouring the weak. At his coronation the king swore to reign in goodness and truth, on pain of incurring the anger of the gods and thus bringing ruin upon himself and his family if he violated his promises. As custodian of justice he administered equity rather than law. In the court were present men of good breeding. In order to accomplish his duty as the upholder of *dharma*, he had to cast off sloth, set an example to people in right conduct, and see that they walked along the path of righteousness. In the goodwill of the people lay his strength and the durability of his tenure. There are instances of kings being suppressed for incurring the general dissatisfaction of the people. The two main officers of the king were the *purohita*, who was entrusted with religious services, and the *senāni*, or leader of the army. Foot-soldiers, cavalry, and warriors who fought from chariots composed the army. Bows and arrows, spears, swords, and axes were used as weapons. The king employed spies to watch the conduct of the people.

The king did not govern without the people's consent. The *samiti* was the popular assembly attended by the princes and the people alike. The *śabhā* was a council of elders. There are mentioned gay and lively concourses of people. One reads in the *Atharva-Veda*: "Here and there are men moving in free, joyous, and vigorous companies. Now they are sitting in solemn deliberations, then marching with unfurled flags. Sometimes they speak in sweet,

persuasive voice; again they are loud in quarrel, but always intent on pleasing their colleagues or winning them to a sense of duty." The *Taittiriya Samhitā* mentions the *strisamsadam*, which was an organization of women. There are non-political organizations for social purposes, and guilds of potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, engineers, and makers of bows and arrows.

There existed inter-state relations between one Āryan state and another and also between Āryan states and non-Āryan. The Āryans tried to humanize war and be chivalrous toward their opponents. But they were distressed when the non-Āryans used magic and charms, and also women in their army, who seduced not only common soldiers but also officers of rank.

During the latter Vedic period one sees the growth of the royal power owing to an increase of the size of the kingdom. The king firmly held the *danda*, or rod of chastisement. Those monarchs who successfully established their paramountcy over other kings assumed the title of Universal King (*rājaviśvajanina*), Lord of the Earth (*sarvabhūmi*), or Sole Ruler (*ekarāt*) and signalized their power by the performance of the *rājasuya* or the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, in both of which tributary princes acknowledged the suzerainty of the king making the sacrifice. With the growth of the royal power, the machinery of administration became elaborate. Besides the priest, we find mention, among the royal officials, of the treasurer, the collector of taxes, the royal herald, the chamberlain, the superintendent of gambling, the king's companion in the chase, the courier, and the leader of the village. A regular system of provincial government was established. It was the duty of the ideal king to see that there were plenty and prosperity in the state—active production of wealth and its equitable distribution. Above all, the king was the custodian of righteousness. In the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (v.xi.5.) King *Aśvapati Kaikeyi* says: "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress."

RELIGION

The *Mantra* or *Samhitā* section of the Vedas is a collection of hymns or religious songs. Their exact meaning is sometimes obscure. Orientalists associate them with nature-worship. The three important powers mentioned are Fire (*Agni*), Wind (*Vāyu*), and the Sun (*Surya*)—the three vital elements in nature on which depends

man's life on earth. These powers are personified as deities who control the orderliness of nature as seen in the succession of the seasons and of day and night. The higher powers demanded devotion of the early Aryans. Other deities are also mentioned. In those early days Siva and Vishnu were not prominent. Ushā, or Dawn, is described as "a blushing maiden pursued by the sun, her lover." Indra and Varuna are among the major gods. Indra, who later occupied the celestial throne, was the protector of the "Aryan colour" and the destroyer of the "dark skin." He was also the thunder god, who "discharged the waters after slaying the serpent and cleft the caverns of the lofty mountains." The chief characteristic of Varuna was his unswerving adherence to higher principles. He was the god of righteousness and the guardian of justice. A man could never hide his cunning and falsehood from him. He was the invisible "third whenever two plot in secret." But he is willing to forgive the repentant sinner. Almost every hymn to Varuna ends with a prayer for forgiveness.

"If we have ever sinned against the man who loves us, have ever wronged a brother, friend, or comrade,

The neighbour ever with us, or a stranger, O Varuna, remove from us the trespass.

O Varuna, whatever the offence may be which we, as men, commit against the heavenly host

When through our want of strength we violate Thy laws, punish us not, O God, for that iniquity."

Varuna was the custodian of *ritam*, which, as we have noted before, was conceived of in the Vedas as preserving the cosmic order both in the realm of the physical and of the moral. It is a common characteristic of all the gods.

The gods governed the universe, which owed its very existence to them. Heaven, the abode of the gods, earth, the dwelling-place of men, and the intermediate plane, constituted the three worlds. Human values were affirmed, never denied. Men prayed for prosperity, sons, and cattle. Almost all the teachers of the Knowledge of Brahman mentioned in the Upanishads were householders. Men were completely dependent on the gods, and the latter were very fond of them. As the gods ruled by righteousness, men, in order to win their favour, had to be righteous. The pious were taken, after death, to heaven, described as "white light," and the wicked consigned to "abysmal darkness."

Monotheism, monism, and ritualism characterize the Vedic religion. They flourished simultaneously. The Vedic monotheism does not posit a supreme God ruling over other deities. It rather implies a power that works behind them all. This power is a principle immanent in all the deities. The Rig-Veda says: "To what is one, the wise give many a name; they call It Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan." This power is more of a philosophic than a religious concept. It was conceived of as the infinite, omnipotent, and ethical authority born of *ritam*, or orderliness. It was personified under different names, such as the All-doer (*Viśvakarmā*) and the Father God (*Prajāpati*). Sometimes one name, sometimes another, came into prominence.

The Vedic monism is a definite philosophic concept. The world is not to be traced to the action of an extra-cosmic Creator. It is the unfolding of a single, primordial cause. The world, without beginning or end, goes into periodic manifestation and non-manifestation. The cosmic process has been described as the "breathing-out and breathing-in" of the World Soul, the systole and diastole of its heart. Creation is a dynamic or self-evolving principle requiring no outside power to guide or shape it. In a famous hymn of the Rig-Veda (X.cxxix.1-80.) mention is made of "that One" (*tadekam*), devoid of all anthropomorphic concepts.

"Then there was neither Aught nor Nought, no air nor sky beyond.
What covered all? Where rested all? In watery gulf profound?
Nor death was then, nor deathlessness, nor change of night and day.
That One breathed calmly, self-sustained; nought else beyond It lay.
Gloom hid in gloom existed first—one sea, eluding view.

That One, a void in chaos wrapt, by inward fervour grew."

This principle is not to be identified with insentient nature, because consciousness is its very stuff and not a later emergence. Nor is it to be identified with the "substance" of pantheism, because it is transcendent as well. The *Purusha Sukta* of the Rig-Veda (X.xc.1.) says: "Having evolved the world on all sides, it extended beyond by the length of ten figures."

Ritualism developed from a simple to a complex ceremony. The Indo-Āryans propitiated the deities through sacrifice, or *yajna*, which has been defined as the offering of oblations for their satisfaction. Prayers for happiness here and hereafter were accompanied by a simple gift of rice or barley and clarified butter. As the rituals became complex, the Brāhmins' power was enhanced and the words of the Vedas assumed greater significance. The Vedic hymns began to be

regarded as so powerful that the sacrificer did not have to beg the gods to bestow favours upon him. He could coerce them to give him whatever he wanted. In other words, the Vedas were regarded as more powerful than the gods themselves. The magic or incantations which are found mostly in the Atharva-Veda and were generally confined to the lower strata of society and had nothing to do with this enhanced power of the scriptures.

But the Upanishads lodged protests against the claims of the sacrifice and the new power exercised by the priests. It was pointed out that the heavenly happiness attained through sacrifice was the result of an action and therefore followed the law of causality, bearing fruit only as long as the momentum supplied by the cause endured. The highest bliss lay outside causation, consisted of knowledge, and was not the result of any action. The discovery in man of an indestructible element called *Ātman* and the knowledge of its identity with Brahman constituted freedom. Several non-Brāhmins appear in the Upanishads as teachers of this knowledge. But the Upanishads did not really deprecate rituals. These were held necessary to purify the mind and create the mood for meditation on Brahman. According to the Vedic tradition, the Vedas contain a single system of thought. Being the result of revelation, one part of the Vedas cannot contradict another. The Upanishads are not a mere appendage of the Vedas; they are their essence and they show the direct way to man's salvation. The Mantra section of the Vedas is the basis of the later Hindu religious systems.

THE UPANISHADS

The spiritual philosophy of the Indo-Āryans is contained in the Upanishads, which are the epitome of the Vedas. This philosophy is India's enduring contribution to the world. It has supplied Hindu society with a spiritual foundation for the past forty centuries or more. The Upanishads teach *Brahmavidyā*, the Knowledge of Brahman or Ultimate Reality, and *Ātmavidyā*, the Knowledge of *Ātman* or the Self. Different commentators have explained the texts to prove that *Ātman* is either identical with Brahman, or a part of it, or entirely dependent upon it. But all agree that man's highest good is attained through the Knowledge of *Ātman* and Brahman. This Knowledge was highly treasured by the Indo-Āryans. They would not barter it for any material thing, not even for the whole earth filled with riches.

The Knowledge set forth in the Upanishads was transmitted by the qualified teacher (*guru*) to the competent disciple (*śishya*). The teacher had to be well versed in the Vedas and their auxiliaries

(śrotriya), and illumined by the experience of Brahman (Brahmanishtha); he had to have control over his senses (dānta) and mind (śānta). He was to be sinless (avrijina), free from worldly desires (akāmahata), and an "ocean of compassion" (dayāsindhu). Humility was for him an indispensable virtue. The *Taittirīya Upanishad* (1.2.) describes the teacher asking his disciple to listen with respect to those who are greater than himself, telling him also that his own example should be followed in so far as his conduct was above reproach. The pupil regarded the teacher as father—superior to his earthly father, because he gave the pupil his spiritual birth by showing him the way out of ignorance.

The three methods followed by the student for the attainment of knowledge were hearing (śravaṇa), reflection (manana), and contemplation (nididhyāsana). Since the Vedas contained the testimony of previous seers of truth, they were to be studied with reverence. Next the student was to apply reason in order to find out whether or not the Vedic statements were correct. Lastly he had to contemplate the truth with single-minded devotion and thus assimilate it. The validity of knowledge was judged by means of scriptural evidence, reasoning, and personal experience, the last giving it the stamp of certainty. These three acted as checks and counter-checks on another, like the legislature, judiciary, and executive in the American government. Since, according to the Vedas, ultimate reality is supramental, reason can merely indicate it but not demonstrate it. Direct experience (aparoksha-anubhūti) reveals the final reality. But the reality thus revealed must not contradict reason or the universal experience of humanity. Through self-control and concentration the mind acquires an inwardness by which the supramental reality is immediately apprehended.

Three important virtues required of a student were reverence (śraddhā), austerity (tapasyā), and self-control (samnyama). He was required to cultivate discrimination, detachment, power of concentration, and an unwavering desire to pursue the goal till its final realization. Truthfulness was a highly prized virtue. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (IV. iv.) narrates the story of Satyakāma, who, when asked about his father by the teacher, made the devastating confession that neither he nor his mother knew who he was, as before his birth his mother, a young woman, had had to serve many people. The teacher was pleased and said that none but one of a Brāhmin's seed could utter such a brutal truth. The most important discipline on the part of a student was the observance of brahmacharya, or conti-

nence, through which he acquired not only strength of body and mind but also a subtle power to understand the Vedas and retain their meaning. The dasyus, or non-Āryans, were ridiculed as śiśnadevah, men of loose sexual habits.

The daily study began with an invocation, the teacher and pupils participating. They prayed for health, mental vigour, and mutual harmony. Here is a Vedic invocation :

"May Brahman protect the preceptor and the disciple. May Brahman bestow upon us both the fruit of knowledge! May we both obtain the energy to acquire knowledge! May what we both study reveal the truth! May we never cherish any ill-feeling towards one another!

"May the different parts of my body, my tongue, prāna, eyes, ears, and my strength, and also my other sense-organs, be nourished! All indeed is Brahman, as declared in the Upanishads. May I never deny Brahman! May Brahman never deny me! May there never be any denial on the part of Brahman! May there never be any denial on my part! May all the virtues described in the Upanishads belong to me, who am devoted to Brahman! Yea, may they all belong to me!

"Peace! Peace! Peace!"

The exhortation of the teacher to the students to lead a life of harmony is given in the Rig-Veda Samhitā (X. cxci. 3-4):

"Common be your prayer; common be your end; common be your purpose; common be your deliberation! Common be your desires; unified be your hearts united be your intentions; perfect be the union amongst you!"

The Vedas were learnt by rote. There are Vedic prayers asking for memory. The Rig-Veda describes the students repeating their lessons in concert, with up-lifted voices, after the teacher, like frogs after the first shower. But a mere memorizer is ridiculed as a living pillar (sthānu) or a mere bearer of burdens. The study is to be followed by reflection and meditation. The *Taittiriya Upanishad* (III. 1.) speaks of Bhrigu, the son of Varuna, approaching his father for instruction about Brahman. Varuna says to him: "That from which all these things are born, by which all things, after they are born, live and move, and into which they finally merge—know That to be Brahman. Find this out by meditation."

After completing their studies, the pupils performed a ceremony known as the samavartana, took leave of their teacher, put an end to

the vow of celibacy, and entered the householder's life. The *Taittiriya Upanishad* (I. xi. 1-7) describes the following parting advice given by the teacher :

"Say what is true. Do thy duty. Do not neglect the study of the Vedas. Bring to thy teacher his proper reward. Do not cut off the line of children. Do not swerve from the truth. Do not swerve from duty. Do not neglect what is useful. Do not neglect greatness. Do not neglect the learning and the teaching of the Vedas.

"Do not neglect the sacrifices due to the gods and the fathers. Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god. Let thy father be to thee like unto a god. Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god. Let thy guest be to thee like unto a god. Whatever actions are blameless, they should be respected—not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee—not others. And there are some Brāhmins better than we. They should be comforted by thee by giving them a seat. Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith—with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness. If there should be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to any conduct, in that case conduct thyself as brāhmins possessing good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, as brāhmins who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty, thus conduct thyself.

"This is the rule; this is the teaching. This is the true purport of the Vedas. This is the command. This shouldst thou thus observe. Thus should this be observed."

Even after forty centuries, a speaker could use these words in a commencement address before the most enlightened university of our times.

What do the Upanishads teach? They teach the Knowledge of Brahman, the unchanging Reality behind the universe, the Knowledge of Ātman, the immortal Essence in man, and the identity of Ātman and Brahman. This Knowledge destroys a man's ego and desires and liberates him from bondage to unreality. The Upanishads also teach that knowledge about the phenomenal universe is necessary and important, since it leads to the Knowledge of Ultimate Reality. The *Mundaka Upanishad* (I.1.4.) insists on the attainment of both knowledge about the phenomenal world and the Knowledge of Brah-

man. The *Isa Upanishad* (9.) says that those who are attached to ignorance enter into darkness, but into a greater darkness enter those who worship knowledge alone. One should know both ignorance and knowledge. By means of ignorance one overcomes disease and death, and by means of knowledge one attains to immortality. The word ignorance here means the knowledge about the phenomenal world.

Brahman, according to the Upanishads, is pure consciousness, described by the negation of all empirical attributes, unknowable through words, senses, or mind, and experienced in silence. It is also immanent in the universe: "Everywhere are His eyes, everywhere is His mouth, everywhere are His arms, and everywhere His feet. He is the Creator of earth and heaven. He is one and without a second."

The Upanishads teach the immortality, the non-duality, and the divinity of the Soul. "The Self is not born; It does not die. It has not sprung from anything; nothing has sprung from It. Birthless, eternal, everlasting, and ancient, It is not killed when the body is killed. . . . The Self, smaller than the small, greater than the great, is hidden in the hearts of all living creatures. A man who is free from desires beholds Its majesty through tranquillity of senses and mind and becomes free from grief." (*Katha Upanishad* I.ii. 18,20.) The divinity of the Soul is the spiritual foundation of freedom and democracy.

In the Upanishads is formulated the doctrine of karma and rebirth, according to which the law of cause and effect governs not only the thoughts and actions of a man's present life, but his entire phenomenal existence. The good and evil of the present life are explained by actions in the past, and the good and evil of the future by the actions of the present. Neither the fiat of an extracosmic God nor the force of an inscrutable destiny determines a man's life on earth. He inherits his present tendencies from his own past, heredity and education helping him to unfold them. But he has a certain freedom to use the materials with which he is endowed at birth. "The cards in the game of life," to quote Dr. Radhakrishnan, "are given to us. We do not select them. They are traced to our past karma, but we can call them as we please, lead what suit we will, and as we play, we gain or lose. And there is freedom." The doctrine of rebirth, governed by the law of karma, is a necessary corollary of the Vedic doctrine of the soul's immortality.

The Upanishads teach the unity of existence. "All that exists is

verily Brahman." "He goes from death to death who sees multiplicity in It." (*Katha Upanishad* II.i.10.) The unity of existence is the spiritual foundation of ethics and of all moral action.

The Upanishads reveal the secret of peace. A man attains peace by knowing "the One who is the eternal Reality among non-eternal objects, the only conscious substance among apparently conscious objects, who, though non-dual, fulfils the desires of many. Eternal peace belongs to the wise who perceive Him within themselves—not to others." (*Katha Upanishad* III.iv.13.)

The Upanishads teach how to experience deathlessness even while dwelling in the perishable body. Desires and attachments, created by ignorance, bind the Self to the body and make It the victim of birth and death. "When all the desires that dwell in the heart fall away, then the mortal becomes immortal and here attains Brahman." (*Katha Upanishad* II.iii.14.) Through the Knowledge of the Self a man attains to immortality. Therefore it is to be realized here on earth, not in an after-life. A seer of the Upanishads, having tasted this immortality, proclaims it to all living beings: "Hear ye children of Immortal Bliss!—all that dwell on earth or in the celestial planes—I have known the Great Spirit, luminous as the sun and free from darkness. By knowing Him alone does one transcend death. There is no other way to immortality."

Indian history is divided into several periods: Vedic, post-Vedic, Buddhistic, Islamic, British. Between the Buddhistic and Islamic periods was a period of intense Hindu revival. It was during the Vedic period that India reached her greatest glory in the realm of Knowledge and Spirit. Many of the laws that govern the social and religious life of the Hindus today are inherited from the Vedas.

To summarize the general features of the Indo-Aryan culture during the Vedic and subsequent periods:

The universe is a spiritual entity sustained by spiritual laws and evolving to a spiritual end. Worldly values are important but the perfection of the individual is the goal. Spiritual leaders like Rāma, Krishna, Sankara, Rāmānuja, Chaitanya, and Ramkrishna are India's national heroes. The enjoyment of legitimate material pleasures is the general rule, but the virtue of renunciation is extolled. India teaches the world how few possessions are needed to enrich the inner life and produce true contentment. The ideal king has always been Rāma of the *Rāmāyana*, who gave up his throne so that his father might not deviate from truth, risked his life to rescue his beloved consort from the prison of an evil king, and at last, when his subjects

murmured against her, banished her to fulfil his duty as a ruler.

Philosophy and religion have worked in harmony in India. Both supply important disciplines for the realization of truth. Philosophy trains the mind, and religion the emotions. From the philosophy of the Vedas have evolved the later philosophical systems of India. Even some of the non-Vedic systems were studied with respect. The Indian attitude toward other religions has been characterized by broadmindedness and reverence. Religions are so many paths to reach the one goal of God-consciousness. Hinduism does not prescribe one religion for all, but it insists that everyone should have a religion. It has never accepted the exclusive claim of any religion to perfection. Single-minded devotion to one's own faith and respect for the faith of others have always been its message. True to this ideal, India has allowed Christianity, Islam, and Zoroastrianism to flourish side by side with Hinduism.

The social life of India has always been gay and lively, but not vulgar. Art and poetics have moved in a wide arc, depicting the grotesque and the sublime, the horrid and the ludicrous, as well as the tender and the beautiful. Religious practices have included both uncouth rituals and abstract meditation.

The educational system has been characterized by many preferences and little exclusion. The *Harshacharita* describes a royal visit to a university in the seventh century after Christ. While approaching the institution the king perceived from a distance a large number of "Buddhists from various provinces, perched on pillows, seated on rocks, dwelling in bowers of creepers, lying in thickets or in the shadow of branches, or squatting on the roots of trees; devotees dead to all passions, Jains in white robes, mendicants, ascetics, followers of Kapila, Lokayātikas (materialists), followers of Kanāda (the atomic school), followers of the Upanishads, students of law, students of the Purānas, adepts in sacrifice, adepts in grammar, followers of Pancharātra, and others besides—all diligently following their own tenets, pondering urging objections, raising doubts and dissolving them, expounding etymologies, and disputing, discussing, and explaining most points."

In the guidance of society the laws of service and sacrifice prevailed. Duty preceded rights. The spirit of cooperation was extolled over competition. The evolution of political systems recognized the local needs and peculiar instincts of different groups. The policy of self-adjustment and arbitration was followed in the communal life. Healthy ideas were borrowed from abroad, but all such ideas were

cleverly Indianized. The new was rung in without ringing out the old.

Duty taught men the art of self-discipline. The leaders of society disdained physical pleasures and took delight in study, teaching, prayer, meditation, and an austere life. The Bhagavad Gītā (XII 20.) describes a wise man as being endowed with compassion for all, discrimination, and detachment, calmness in prosperity and adversity, and the longing to commune with the Infinite.

The Vedic ideals already described have been reinterpreted and modified from time to time to suit changing conditions, but without a breach of continuity. One remarkable characteristic of India is that even during the height of her material power she did not send armies of invasion outside her boundaries. On the contrary, bands of missionaries of her culture went to Tibet, China, Japan, and the other countries of the Far East, and in the West influenced the cultural life as far as Egypt and the Balkan States. As long as India was politically free the life and culture of the people were dynamic. But with the loss of that freedom, conservatism and stagnation set in. The Bhagavad Gītā (XVIII.78.) says that the prosperity, success, moral order, and all-round welfare of a nation are preserved as long as the spiritual authority and the royal authority cooperate with each other.

All societies possess by nature certain elements of imperfection. The history of social evolution is the struggle of society to approximate itself to eternal truths. When a society is loyal to these truths it endures. But when it drifts away from them for the sake of expediency or temporary advantage, it perishes. In a clash between society and truth, it is society that must bow before truth, and not otherwise.

The Vedic culture was intellectual and spiritual. Despite its many achievements, it was an exclusive culture. Their exclusiveness was its weakness. Its main pillars were priests and philosophers belonging to the brāhmin caste. They enjoyed the power. They and their descendants were protected by all kinds of laws promulgated by themselves. The brāhmins ruled by knowledge and claimed and maintained a monopoly over it. They alone had access to knowledge. During this period of the brāhmin domination were laid the foundations of the sciences.

Europe made a different social experiment. During the days of its greatest power, the kshattriyas, or kings and military men, were the leaders of society. They were less exclusive than the brāhmins, but often harsh, tyrannical, and cruel. Though they themselves were not always intellectual, yet they created conditions for the development of the arts and sciences.

The United States of America is trying the rule of the vaiśyas, or those representing wealth and economic interests. The one great advantage of this system is that it has none of the exclusiveness of the rule of the priests and philosophers or of the military class. It is a democratic system. Merchants go everywhere in search of trade and thus become good disseminators of the ideas created by other cultures. But this system has a tendency to discourage men of genius and dampen the spiritual sensitivity of the people. The culture shows signs of decay.

The inexorable march of events may make yet another experiment. The śūdras, or manual labourers, may come into power. If they succeed, there will be a distribution of physical comforts for all. There will be equality on material levels. Ordinary education will be universal, but extraordinary geniuses very few. As the energy and resources of society will be devoted to producing creature comforts, higher cultural values will be neglected.

Humanity, now passing through a period of travail, awaits the coming into existence of a new world order. Our minds and hearts are alternately gripped by fear and cheered by hope. Will it be possible to create a world civilization that will keep intact the past achievements and the present hopes of human society the knowledge of the priestly and philosophical period, the artistic and scientific development of the military, the democratic spirit of the commercial, and the pledged ideal of equality of the proletarian—minus their shortcomings? If that can be done, the failures of the past and the gropings of the present will not have been in vain.

Humanity is confronted with various ideals, all brought into sharp focus by the reawakening of national consciousness in various parts of the world. Domination, by one ideal, of all the rest will only prolong the cultural conflict. The way out of this tension seems to lie not in regimented uniformity but in an orchestrated unity. It appears that the emerging world culture, to use a different illustration, should be a mosaic in which the distinctive characteristics and healthy features of all cultures will remain to enhance the beauty and the value of the whole. Neither ruthless extermination nor forcible superimposition, but all-inclusiveness and harmonization, have been the time-honoured ideals of India.²

² The writer of this article is indebted, for some of his information, to *An Advanced History of India*, by Majumdar, Raychaudhuri, and Dutta, London, Macmillan & Company, 1946, and *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, by M. Hiriyanna, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949.

ALDOUS HUXLEY—A STUDY IN DEVELOPMENT

AMALENDU DASGUPTA

Mr. Aldous Huxley is fifty-five now, and considering his progressive deterioration as a fictional writer since the publication of his best novel *Point Counterpoint*, it seems unlikely that he will again strike a new and significant patch in creative writing. *Ape and Essence*, brilliant as it is, is slight as a novel, and repetitive of his earlier works. And his recent pre-occupation with *Yoga*, with occasional spells of work for the films, does not inspire much hope among the admirers of his novels, short stories and poems. It would, therefore, be reasonable to suppose—this however is always a large assumption in the case of creative writers—that the time has come for a total valuation of Mr. Huxley's achievement.

Aldous Huxley is primarily an intellectual and the development of his art is intimately connected with the development of his ideas. Novels of ideas are seldom great art, but then Huxley is too detachedly intellectual not to know this. Philip Quarles in *Point Counterpoint*, who is supposed to be the author himself, says: "The great defect of the novel of ideas is that it's a made-up affair. Necessarily; for people who can reel off neatly formulated notions aren't quite real; they are slightly monstrous. Living with monsters becomes rather tiresome in the long run." "But then," Quarles adds, "I never pretended to be a congenital novelist."

Huxley's ideas are concerned with his search for what he calls "the whole truth" and his constant endeavour has been to "render adequately, in terms of literature, that infinitely complex and mysterious thing, actual reality." This basic fact explains the amazing change of his attitude towards spiritual values and religion, as also his failure to write a completely satisfying novel, with the probable exception of *Point Counterpoint*.

Two strains of development ran parallel in Huxley's early life and work; one was an intellectual and predominantly sceptical awareness of contemporary values, and the other was a sensuous passion for life, primarily in its physical content.

The sceptical attitude found expression in brilliant irony in his early novels like *Crome Yellow* (1921) and *Antic Hay* (1923), particularly

in the latter. *Crome Yellow*, Huxley's first novel, showed him to be an admirably promising fictional writer in his grasp of technique and psychological observation. It is not as serious or ironical as his later novels, but has more grace.

Antic Hay is more indignant in tone than *Crome Yellow*, and more intense. It is a record of the meaninglessness of contemporary life, its senseless diversions and pointless pursuits, and is marked by a note of angry disgust which is expressed in bitter irony. Gumbriel has a vague vision of beauty and goodness, but in the life around him finds only stupid efforts to escape from the post-war frustration. As a "natural historian of humanity," Huxley realistically studies the human specimens of the Jazz age, and writes of their pathetic deficiencies with almost brutal candour.

The next novel, *Those Barren Leaves* (1925), a little less known than *Antic Hay* or *Point Counterpoint*, is wider in scope, but somewhat uncertain in treatment. It is weaker in action than his other novels, but its inherent duality, resulting from his new interest in sympathy and tenderness jostling with his satiric temper, gives it a special interest.

The new self-consciousness of *Those Barren Leaves* is a minor turning-point in Huxley's development. He was probably getting a trifle tired of writing of the futility of contemporary life, and his next important work, *Jesting Pilate* (1926), is a book of travels. The notes on his travels are delightful for their pleasant humour and acute observation of men and things. But his critical attitude never leaves him and makes his diaries more than mere narrative. He found the architecture of Tajmahal lamentably poor; the bathing ceremony at Benares provoked the remark: "If I were an Indian millionaire, I would leave all my money for the endowment of an Atheist mission." An intellectual aristocrat, Huxley revolted against any exhibition of stupidity and vulgarity wherever he went.

The travels probably made him seriously interested in problems of social life which are treated in his next book *Proper Studies* (1927). The book lacks warmth and vigour; his search for "experimental reality" in social relationships is not particularly stimulating. D. H. Lawrence wrote of *Proper Studies* in a letter to Huxley: "You are not your grandfather's *Enkel* for nothing—that funny dry-mindedness and underneath social morality. But you'll say I'm an introvert, and no fit judge. Though I think to make *people* introverts and extraverts is bunk—the words apply, obviously to the direction of the consciousness or the attention, and not to anything in the indivi-

'dual essence. You are an extravert by inheritance far more than in *essé*. Wou'd have made a much better introvert, had you been allowed.'

Point Counterpoint (1928) makes one inclined to believe that Lawrence's rebuke did Huxley a lot of good, for it is a novel which is not only formally beautiful but has great intensity of emotional experience. Huxley seems to have realized that if he were to be a successful creative writer he must transform his intellectual curiosity and alertness into an organic vision of life. The main theme of the book is epitomized in the quotation from Fulke Greville, which he used on the page following the title-page: "Passion and reason, self-division's cause." Against the major theme of self-division is the subsidiary theme of wholeness which provides the counterpoint. The exponent of wholeness is Mark Rampion, a fictionalised D. H. Lawrence. (Lawrence himself, however, found Rampion "the most boring character in the book—a gasbag.")

Between Mark Rampion, the embodiment of wholeness, and Bidalke, Webley, Sprandell and others, all victims of self-division, stands Philip Quarles, or Aldous Huxley himself. Philip Quarles states Huxley's problem when he says: "The problem for me is to transform a detached intellectual scepticism into a way of harmonious all-round living." This has been Huxley's problem all his life, and for the moment he saw its solution in Rampion's ideal of wholeness.

Point Counterpoint is Huxley's high-water mark as a novelist, and since its publication, his fictional writing has followed a steady downward curve. The major defect of Huxley's novels is a diffuseness of interest arising out of his failure to integrate adequately his ideas with his characters through action. It is also partially the result of his concern for the *total* reality which he describes as the "whole truth." His art is not "chemically pure," for he is not concerned with the concentrated essence. In an essay in *Music at Night*, entitled *Tragedy and the Whole Truth*, he expounds the distinction between the literature of partial truth, e.g., classical tragedies, and the literature of the whole truth, like the *Odyssey* or the works of Proust, Lawrence, Andre Gide, Kafka and Hemingway. Huxley says that these latter writers do not shirk the irrelevancies which in actual life always temper the situations and characters "that writers of tragedy insist on keeping chemically pure."

In this essay, however, Huxley states only the partial truth. To compare a dramatic tragedy with an epic or a novel is wrong, for these art-forms are basically different. Secondly, even in a novel

or an epic there must be some selection somewhere, if there is to be any art-form at all. Thirdly, great art has the power of absorbing *apparently* irrelevant things; but after the transmutation these do not appear as irrelevancies at all. Lear's request to undo the buttons is an integral part of the dramatic effect Shakespeare produces; in a lesser dramatist this might well appear as irrelevant.

The fact is that in his eagerness to tell the whole truth, Huxley has often introduced irrelevancies which he has not been able to absorb into his art. Real irrelevancies are always a defect.

Point Counterpoint, however, is largely free from such irrelevancies; it is also free from Huxley's usual failure to strike a balance between ideas and action. It is this balance which has produced the complex structural unity of the book. His habitual irony is shown in its most moving forms in it; moving, because of the author's deep interest in the living human beings tortured by self-division.

Perhaps, Lawrence was right in his criticism of Mark Rampion, for, despite Philip Quarles' interest in his ideas, Rampion remains a poor foil to the sceptical Quarles, a shadowy moral preceptor to the frustrated men and women. Huxley, nevertheless, was deeply interested in Rampion's ideas, and gave a complete exposition of the philosophy of whole living in *Do What You Will* (1929). The doctrine of life-worship, based on the life and ideas of D. H. Lawrence but less anarchic than Lawrence's philosophy, recognises the supreme importance of the art of living. And, "if one would live well, one must live completely, with the whole being—with the body and instincts, as well as the conscious mind." Huxley goes on to say that to live, the soul must be in intimate contact with the world, must assimilate it through all the channels of sense and desire, thought and feeling, which nature has provided for the purpose. To the life-worshipper exclusiveness is a sin; "his doctrine of moderation demands that one excess shall be counter-balanced by another."

But how to live this whole life in the modern world? Huxley replies that the only satisfactory way of existing in the modern, highly specialized, world is to live with two personalities, an intellectual Dr. Jekyll and an animal Mr. Hyde. "Only by living discretely and inconsistently can we preserve both the man and the citizen, both the intellectual and the spontaneous animal being, alive within us. The solution may not be very satisfactory; but it is, I believe now (though I once thought differently), the best that, in modern circumstances, can be devised."

This was in 1929. That the formula was not very satisfactory Huxley realized shortly afterwards. By 1932 he was disillusioned about the success of this formula in the contemporary and the future world, and in *Brave New World* (1932) he expressed his deep pessimism. He realized that the modern civilization would not turn toward sane living; it valued comfort above experience, security above adventure, arbitrary rationalization above nature. The Savage says: "I do not want comfort. I want God, I want poetry, I want real danger, I want freedom, I want goodness, I want sin." But the fulfilment of these wishes Huxley could not foresee. *Brave New World* is a novel of despair.

Huxley began to turn to other directions for his personal salvation. He again wrote of his travels, and went on groping in darkness. *Eyeless In Gaza* published four years after *Brave New World* is a record of this search. As a novel it is not considerable, but it indicated the shape of his future beliefs.

Congenitally, Huxley is a sceptic. In his early years, materialism seemed to him a satisfactory rationalization of his sceptical attitude. But it is doubtful if Huxley ever seriously considered materialism to be a complete explanation of life and the universe. As his vision widened, he began to recognize the *facts* of mystical and religious experience. Pascal's experience was as much a fact as Voltaire's and Huxley would not shut his eyes to facts.

Religious conviction grew during the years 1933-36, and in 1937 *Ends and Means* appeared. The basic fact to remember about Huxley's religious belief is that it is born of his awareness of "the whole truth." All his writings since *Ends and Means* have tended to confirm the belief that religion has never been a passionate faith with him; his distrust of the intellect too is intellectual.

The fundamental thesis of *Ends and Means* is that the end cannot justify the means for the simple and obvious reason that the means employed determine the nature of the ends produced. Huxley discusses some of the means which must be employed if we are to achieve the end which the prophets and philosophers have proposed for humanity—a free and just society. The first essential for this purpose is the practice of non-attachment which, Huxley warns us, is not a negative state of apathy but a positive state of goodness, charity and disinterested work. Any method of social reform which involves violence must be eschewed, and all reforms must begin with the individual, must start at the periphery and not at the centre. Nationalism, one of the most potent causes of war, must be substi-

tuted by decentralization of political and economic power sustained by self-governing communities. Education will have to be liberalized, and so forth.

These are not new ideas. The ideal of non-attachment, as Huxley states, has been upheld by Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity and is enunciated in the *Bhagavat Gita*, "perhaps the most systematic scriptural statement of the Perennial Philosophy." In recent years the ideals of non-violence and decentralization have been practised by Mahatma Gandhi. But the importance of Huxley's book is in its practical approach, its competent analysis of the applicability of these ideals to the complex structure of modern life. It has been aptly described by its author as a "cookery book of reform"; it is Huxley's most important contribution to social thought. Its basic ideas have been reiterated in his recent book *Science, Liberty and Peace*.

Ends and Means is also important as the best exposition of Huxley's religious belief. That a man who wrote *Jesting Pilate* could have written *Ends and Means* appears incredible, but it shows the author's elasticity of mind and intellectual sincerity. In the chapter on *Beliefs* he discusses the inadequacy of sense experience for a total knowledge of the universe, the limitations of the organs by means of which we establish direct communication with the outside world. Huxley admits that the philosophy of meaninglessness of his early life was an instrument of liberation. He now discovers a meaning in the scheme of things, but points out that final conviction can only come to those who make an act of faith. This act of faith is in no sense illogical to make, for systematic training in recollection and meditation makes possible the mystical experience which is a direct intuition of the ultimate impersonal spiritual reality.

Beliefs sustain ethics and belief in the spiritual reality is the guiding inspiration for, as well as the result of, the cultivation of the moral virtues. The chapters on *Ethics* and *Religious Practices* complete Huxley's exposition of his new ideal.

Since the publication of *Ends and Means* Huxley has been more a preacher than an artist, and the novels that have followed suffer from the predominance of the didactic element. Both *After Many a Summer* and *Time Must Have a Stop* are strange hybrids between the novel and the sermon. Characterization is shadowy and the central theme is brought out not by action, but by a chorus-like character, Mr. Propter in *After Many a Summer* and Bruno in *Time Must Have a Stop*. The message of these novels may be salutary

in themselves, but the message is not integrated into a pattern of experience; the fictional-didactic problem makes the novels artistically weak.

After Many a Summer, nevertheless, has considerable force of satire on the technological progress of modern civilization devoted solely to providing physical comfort to soulless men and women.

Ape and Essence, Huxley's latest work, is unsatisfactory as a novel; it is hardly a novel at all. It can be better described as a satirical romance. The imaginings are brilliant and macabre, and one almost feels that the author derives a morbid pleasure in writing about the gruesome future that awaits humanity if the forces of nationalism and technological progress are allowed to develop on the present lines.

The book is unsatisfying both as an artistic work and a moral message. Apart from the formal defects—the plan of the film-script and the journey into the cactus desert and all that—there is the gravest fault of all, an underlying sense of irresponsibility, notwithstanding the fierce farce and the lurid description of the Kingdom of the Devil. There is some deficiency somewhere, probably in the plenary inspiration, and when one finishes the book, one becomes neither deeply worried over the trends of the modern civilization which will lead to the consequences Huxley predicts, nor inspired by the path he indicates for reaching the Kingdom of God. By this is not meant that Huxley's picture of the future doom which will result from the third World War, is purely fanciful; nor is his diagnosis of our malady wrong or his ideal of good life hollow. But Huxley does not write about the problem with the complete sincerity of passion that it deserves. There is an inherent lightheartedness in his approach, the irresponsibility of a "precocious adolescent" in considering a gigantic problem.

Religious conviction should not be a liability for a creative writer; many of the world's greatest literary works are inspired by passionate, in some cases dogmatic, religious faith. But Huxley's vision of the Kingdom of God is strangely unconvincing in comparison with his vision of the Kingdom of the Devil. It appears that religion has remained an intellectually held conviction with him, not a passionate and complete faith pervading the whole being. A sceptic turned mystic, Huxley is still a slightly disinterested spectator of human agony. He entertains us, even stimulates, but does not elevate. *Yoga* has probably killed the animal Mr. Hyde, but Dr. Jekyll remains an intellectual, interested in religion, but not, like Tolstoy or Rolland, inspired by it.

NOTES ON RABINDRA NATH'S HRIDAYA-JAMUNA

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It has been proposed that some of the masterpieces of poet Rabindra Nath Tagore should be published in Devanagiri for the purpose of assisting the non-Bengalee admirers of the poet in their study of his immortal works. We do not minimise the advantage of transliteration. But if our language is imperfectly known to some of our friends belonging to other provinces, how far a mere change of script will resolve the difficulty must remain a matter of speculation. Moreover, if for the fuller appreciation of Kalidas and Shakespeare, commentaries on their works are in demand even among scholars who have adequate knowledge of Sanskrit and English, annotated edition of at least an anthology of Rabindra Nath Tagore might now legitimately seem to be overdue. This last point having been mooted to Dr. C. E. Raven by the writer of this article, the President of the Tagore Society of Cambridge remarked that it was an interesting proposal which he would bear in mind and discuss with his Committee and that Indian Scholars would do well to follow it up. English as the medium of this commentary will not only have a wider appeal than any Indian language under the prevailing conditions but will also be of greater assistance in dispelling haziness in the mind of the reader relating to the import because of the wide divergence in the structure and vocabulary of the languages of the original and the commentary.

In the following pages a feeble endeavour has been made to assist the reader in the study of one of the masterpieces of the poet—*হৃদয়-জমুনা* (Hridaya Jamuna).

THE SUBJECT-MATTER

The poet depicts Jamuna as the symbol of the river of love—love can be put to different uses, ranging, as it does, from the little affection that goes to make the domestic ties of the work-a-day world to the soul-transfiguring experience that annihilates the Self. The poet broadly divides the range of love into four distinct stages and devotes a stanza to each of them.

It is interesting to note that this recognition of the difference in the voltage of love when the poet was in his early thirties reached its fullest development and final fruition in his novel, *Shesher Kabita*, thirty-five years after...

In *Shesher Kabita* the poet insinuates that the literary career of even a first rate poet, if it is to be honest, should be short. Even a literary genius, the poet opines, exhausts his stock of ideas in a few years and endeavours to maintain his reputation thereafter by purloining from his own earlier writings. This confession, however frank, should not be accepted by the discerning critic at its face-value.

There is no denying the fact that, for instance, the subject-matter of *হুই নারী* in *বলাকা* (1921 B.S.) forms the core of the poet's novel *হুই বোন* many years after or that the Turkish Bath experience of the progressive temperatue of love in *হৃদয়-যমুনা* is really the central theme of the sheaf of ideas presented in *Shesher Kabita*. But this superficial resemblance in subject-matter instead of corroborating the charge of plagiarism, really furnishes the observant critic with a literary electro-cardiogram of the development of the poet's head and heart. The later treatments, it will be noticed, are usually marked with greater intellectual maturity and a non-chalant disregard of the conventional solutions of social problems. The startling suggestion of a dual affiliation in affairs of the heart in *Shesher Kabita* is marked with an exotic boldness compared with which the conventional approach of *হৃদয়-যমুনা* appears to be almost pastoral in its simplicity. But more of this later, when we have explained the poem in full.

STANZA 1

(1) যদি ভরিয়া লইবে কুন্ড—The imagery of the pitcher has been repeated by the poet in *Shesher Kabita*. In that book, contrasting ethereal love of Labanya with the work-a-day affection of Katie Mitra, Amita Roy says, Labanya is like a pond where you can go for an occasional dip, but Katie is like a pitcher of water, infinitely smaller but certainly necessary for the utilitarian purposes of the work-a-day world. What the poet means to convey is that a little love, a little sympathy, is the cement that makes the family-tie. Without it the family, and in the last analysis even society, would disintegrate. But it is a far cry from this to the great love that inspires transfiguring spiritual expansion of the soul. The pitcherful of water thus represents the small love where utility is the trade mark, where love is subject to prudential considerations.

(2) এসো ওগো এসো মোর হৃদয় নীরে—Come to the river of love that is in my heart.

(3) তলতল ছলছল কাঁদবে গভীর জল ওই ছটি অকোমল চরণ বিরে—In your daily need of little love, the river of love will reach no higher than your ankle but the deeper waters of self-annihilating love (*cf.* যদি মরণ লভিতে চাও in the last stanza) crying for realisation (কাঁদবে গভীর জল) will find an opportunity for establishing contact with you.

What the poet means to convey is that our little loves of daily need give us increased opportunities for the realisation of ethereal love. This standpoint of the poet, which is also the standpoint of social conservatism, underwent, as we shall show at the conclusion of these notes, a radical change in later years.

(4) আজি বর্ষা গাঢ়তম, নিবিড় কুন্তলসম মেঘ নামিয়াছে ময় দুইটি তীরে—Circumstances are propitious. Both in Sanskrit and Bengali literatures the rainy season is conventionally the season for fulfilment of the yearnings of love. In olden times, both warfare and the primitive economic pursuits being impossible in the severity of the tropical rains, menfolk used to return home on the eve of the rains and thus the clouds brought with them the promise of re-union. The approach of monsoon was therefore as much a matter for general jubilation among wives as among peacocks.

(5) ওই যে শব্দ চিনি, নুপুর রিনিকিঝিনি—The telepathic communication between the lover and the beloved at once establishes the character of the wayfarer from so attenuated an evidence as the jingling of the tinkling anklet. The reference to the anklet is subtly suggestive of the eligibility of the wayfarer to amorous advances. Identification of a mother or a sister by the jingling of her anklet is somewhat unconventional in literature.

(6) কেগো তুমি—This interrogation immediately following the positive assertion that I recognise you (ওই যে শব্দ চিনি) is really no invitation to the prosecuting counsel in the court of love to question the trustworthiness of the witness in the box. The tinkling of the anklet fixes no more than the genus of the approaching woman as a lady-love. It does not even fix the species, that is, in which of the four ways of love she should offer worship. The inquisitiveness of the lover in কেগো তুমি is only for closer identification.

(7) একাকিনী—The worship of love can only be a personal, not a congregational, worship.

(8) আসিছ ধীরে—The slow, measured gait is indicative of the seriousness of the approach. The irresponsible rush for an impulsive union is altogether ignored in the poet's classification of love.

STANZA 2

(9) যদি কলস জামায়ে জলে—Subjecting prudential considerations to the ruling passion of love. The pitcher, symbolising prudential considerations as we have said above, is to be left at the mercy of the water which is the symbol of love.

(10) বসিয়া থাকিতে চাও আপনা ভুলে—The suggestion of partial self-effacement is to be contrasted with the all-out endeavour for annihilation of the Self described in the concluding stanza. Forgetfulness of the Self in আপনাভুলে might have been indicative of the highest consummation of love but it is, as it were, mellowed down by the passivity and detachment of merely sitting on the bank of the river of love (বসিয়া থাকিতে চাও).

(11) হেথা শ্রাম দুর্বাদল, নবনীল নভস্তল, বিকশিত বনস্থল বিকচ স্থলে—This can be best explained by quoting the concluding portion of the famous inscription of the Delhi Fort—হমীন্ অস্ত্ ও হমীন্ অস্ত্ ও হমীন্ অস্ত্—it is here, oh ! it is here. This is the most auspicious place, the most suitable atmosphere, to lose yourself in self-abstraction, subjecting prudential considerations to the ruling passion of love.

(12) ছুটি কালো আঁখি দিয়া মন যাবে বাহিরিয়া—Repetition of the idea of আপনাভুলে.

(13) অঞ্চল খসিয়া গিয়া পড়িবে খুলে—An apt external representation of the state of inner abstraction.

(14) চাহিয়া বজুলবনে কী যেন পড়িবে মনে—Indicates a confused state of undefined thinking. The poet seems to suggest that when love is so attenuated as to be capable of being subordinated to prudential considerations, the mind is in a clear state of thinking. When, on the contrary, there is complete self-effacement as we shall witness in the last stanza, thinking ceases altogether. In between the two—the noon-day clarity and the midnight obscurity—there is a twilight atmosphere of love where the mind can only be set to confused thinking.

But why should confused thinking be particularly associated with চাহিয়া বজুলবনে? The reason is that from so far back as the time of Kalidas (and even before him), বজুল-বন or বেতস-কুঞ্জ, which in prosaic language is nothing but a grove of cane-creepers, seems to have exercised a particularly baneful effect on the malady of love, like humidity on rheumatism.

(14) বসি কুঞ্জ ভ্রামসনে শ্রামল কুলে—Repetition of the idea of হেথা শ্রাম দুর্বাদল etc., (see note 11 above).

STANZA 3

(16) যদি গাহন করিতে চাও—If you desire to immerse yourself in the river of love.

In the progressively poignant pictures of the influence of love, immersion is indicative of closer intimacy than has been evidenced hitherto but it still falls considerably short of the annihilation of the Self which is the highest consummation of love.

(17) নীলাবরে কিবা কাজ, তীরে ফেলে এসো আজ—নীলাবর symbolically represents the external barriers between two souls—the shapeless swathings of the multifarious ideas of propriety and impropriety, conventions and proscriptions. The lover calls upon the beloved to discard them all without a remnant as no extra-territorial authority of the dictates of social conservatism is recognised in this torrid zone of the domain of love.

It is interesting to note that with the progress of love, the beloved is successively divested of her superfluous accompaniments. The tinkling anklet of the first stanza is no more to be heard in the second. The clothing, of which special mention is made in the second, is to be discarded in the third. And the body, in which we live “in the sea of life enisled” is to be smothered in the concluding stanza as it is an impediment to the highest consummation of love.

(18) ঢেকে দিবে সব লাজ সুনীল জলে—The one ruling passion of love will smother up all the ideas of social propriety and impropriety.

This was the case of the Gopinis of Brindaban. Unfortunately the episode of the Gopinis has been so crudely dealt with by some later poets that reference to them may make confusion worse confounded. A better example is Bidur's wife. When Lord Krishna called on Bidur, in the Mahabharata, Bidur's wife, who was bathing, came out in her nakedness and, overwhelmed with the one ruling passion of friendly affection, embraced Krishna, quite oblivious of her sartorial condition. But the best example to illustrate the point without any possibility of misunderstanding, is perhaps that of Archimedes. With one foot in the bath-tub, when he suddenly discovered the theory of Specific Gravity, he ran naked through the public highway crying “Eureka, eureka,” with the one ruling idea taking complete possession of his entire being.

(19) সোহাগ-তরঙ্গরাশি অন্ধখানি দিবে গ্রাসি উচ্ছ্বসি পড়িবে আসি উরসে গলে—Wordsworth says, “The Gods approve the depth and not the tumult

of the soul." The caressing tumult of the waves of love is indicative of the fact that the unplumbed depth of the middle of the river is yet to be reached. It stands in marked contrast with the stillness of death of নিব্ব শান্ত স্বগভীর নাহি তল নাহি তীর in the next stanza.

(20) কতু কঁাদে কতু হাসে—Refers to the joys and sorrows of love which are the necessary adjuncts of the present thermal stage. It demands the soul-transfiguring experience of the concluding stanza to transport one beyond the pale of emotional fluxes.

STANZA 4

(21) যদি মরণ লভিতে চাও—For complete self-effacement, for annihilation of the Self.

(22) নাহি তল নাহি তীর—Limitless.

(23) মৃত্যুসম নীল নীর স্থির বিরাজে—The emblem of death or self-annihilation.

(24) নাহি রাজি দিনমান—The transplantation of the beloved into the spiritual world of ethereal love will secure her emancipation even from the fluxes of natural phenomena. The call of love of Browning's "Meeting at Night" and the call of the world of action of his "Parting at Morning" will dissolve themselves in one unbroken stretch of spiritual existence. Multiplicity of interests fitted to the different parts of the day will lose themselves in the homogeneous equanimity of the soul.

(25) আদি অন্ত পরিমাণ—The weights and measures of the market-place will no longer appeal to you.

(26) সে অতলে গীতগান কিছু না বাজে—You will be beyond the pale of even the innocent pleasures of the world.

The last two lines may also mean that throughout the twenty-four hour system (নাহি রাজি দিনমান) limitless love, without commencement and without conclusion (আদি অন্ত পরিমাণ), will reign supreme—never seeking to find expression even in the song of love, which is indicative of the turmoil of the soul, but finding its supreme fulfilment in the stygian stillness of spiritual realisation.

(27) যাও সব যাও ভুলে নিখিল বন্ধন খুলে ফেলে দিয়ে এসো কুলে সকল কাজে—Forget the ties and experiences of your ante-mortem existence and emancipate yourself completely from them. Cut yourself adrift of the past as the earthly weights and measures of duties and responsibilities, of prescriptions and prohibitions, of little loves and hatreds, can find no place in this seventh heaven of love.

CONCLUSION

The central theme of the poem is that the river of love in the heart of the lover is capable of being put to different uses, ranging from the daily need of little love to the self-annihilating spiritual expansion of the soul, and the lady-love is invited to make use of it in whatever way she desires.

Such an offer of unrestricted option without reference to the voltage of the emotional charge in the lady-love leads the way to a promiscuous union of souls which the poet stubbornly refuses to countenance in Shesher Kabita. In Shesher Kabita, whether for the purpose of the clarity of the picture or for more glaring contrast, the four stages of love of Hridaya-Jamuna are condensed into two. The poet then opines that although each individual may be capable of passing through both the bass and the treble notes of love, the chance of the same set of two persons raising responsive resonance from heart-string to heart-string through the entire range of the symphony is very slender.

The poet recognises no horizontal classification into the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat in love's demography—the former incapable of descending to a lower emotional level and the latter incapable of rising to a higher. But he is up in arms against the accepted social system of riveting soul to soul to run the entire course of love together and advocates that the Hahnemannian doctrine of *similia similibus curantur* (like cures like) should have a sectional application in the affairs of love and a dual affiliation of each soul to suit the blunter and the sharper edges of love will yield better results.

It must be noted that the poet does not mean in Shesher Kabita that there are some exceptional souls like Labanya's and Amita Roy's which are capable of opening themselves out or being shrivelled up, like the lotus, with the profusion or scarcity of the rays of ultra-violet love. He does not mean that Shovan Lal and Katie Mitra were sensitive only to the visible range of the spectrum of love. Labanya and Amita Roy must be taken as types and generalities with only the exceptional courage to resort to a bold solution of a problem for which the unreasoning monogamist temperament of society has nothing but a mouldy, moth-eaten solution to offer.

If Labanya was a pond to Amita Roy, she was perhaps no better than a pitcherful of water to Shovan Lal. Amita Roy himself might have been a pond to Labanya but he must have been reduced to the

'dimension' of a pitcher to Katie Mitra. Katie Mitra, although she was merely a pitcher to Amita Roy, might have been capable of opening herself out like a pond to somebody else who is hidden from our view as he has no business to make appearance on a stage set for the present story.

For marriage and constant companionship the choice of our poet falls on the less inspiring personage. The reach, the poet declares, must always be higher than the grasp. And if we seek to perpetuate our occasional soul-stirring experiences by closer companionship with the person who inspires them, our endeavour is likely to be crowned with as little success as an additional dose of opium might be in reviving the dream of Kubla Khan. Our little loves of daily need instead of giving us increased opportunities for the realisation of ethereal love, are sure to bring about psychological reactions through their mundane interests and grossness which can only act as hindrances to our aspirations for the sublime.

যত্নের মৃত্তিকা মোর, তাই দিয়ে অমৃত মূর্তি
 যদি সৃষ্টি করে থাক, তাহারই আরতি
 হোক তব সন্ধ্যাবেলা—
 পূজার সে খেলা
 ব্যাঘাত পাবে না মোর প্রত্যহর মনোম্পর্শ লেগে।

[From the concluding poem of Shesher Kabita]

Although we may depart a little out of our way from the original subject of discussion, we are unable to withstand the temptation of making reference to Browning for a moment in this connection. Browning's problem in such poems as "Porphyria's Lover", "Two in the Campagna" etc. also relates to the transience of the soul-stirring experiences of love. But Browning wants the moon in-as-much, as he wants to prolong or perpetuate these experiences—and failing to obtain the impossible, bewails the "infinite passion and the pain of finite hearts that yearn".

I yearn upward, touch you close,
 Then stand away, I kiss your cheek,
 Catch your soul's warmth—I pluck the rose
 And love it more than tongue can speak—
 Then the good minute goes.

.....
 Only I discern—

Infinite passion, and the pain
Of finite hearts that yearn:

(Two in the Campagna)

Our poet on the contrary is at peace with the world of God's creation and seeks only to modify certain social laws so that they may fall in line with the psychological realities of love. With the characteristic candour of an unbiassed social scientist Rabindra Nath admits the possibility of an occasional coincidence of the sources of great and little loves. But when Jati Shankar, taking his stand on social conservatism, wants to hold fast to the hidebound conception of this exceptional ideatity, Amita Roy sounds the note of warning that it is a theoretical possibility which is all but impossible of attainment in practice.

We can only conclude from Shesher Kabita that the poet deprecates the idea that the oxy-acetylene flame of soul-transfiguring love should be used for cooking the daily mess of pottage. Such a hodge-podge of the sublime and the common-place is not countenanced by us in any other sphere of life. The pond never takes the place of a pitcher, the open sky can never replace snug little nest. It is only in the matter of love that the unreasoning monogamist verdict of society refuses to take cognisance of the difference in voltage.

Amita Roy says in Shesher Kabita :—

“একদিন আমার সমস্ত ডানা বেলে পেয়েছিলুম আমার ওড়ার আকাশ—আজ আমি পেয়েছি আমার ছোট্ট বাসা, ডানা গুটিয়ে বসেছি। কিন্তু আমার আকাশও রইল।”

And again,

“কেতকীর সঙ্গে আমার সম্বন্ধ ভালোবাসারই, সে যেন ঘড়ায় তোলা জল, প্রতিদিন তুলব, প্রতিদিন ব্যবহার করব। আর লাষণ্যর সঙ্গে আমার যে ভালবাসা সে রইল দিঘি, সে ঘরে আনবার নয়, আমার মন তাতে সাঁতার দেবে।”

Ranging in this very same region in search of ideas thirty-five years ago, the poet had discovered an invaluable gem in the fundamental difference of the four thermal stages of love. Had he taken pains in Hridaya-Jamuna to denounce the idea of multiple affiliations in the affairs of love, we might have concluded that the poet held a different view earlier in his life. But the fact that in Hridaya-Jamuna the idea of the unity or diversity of the source of inspiration has practically been glossed over and the former supported only by implication, almost like an axiom, leads us to believe that the poet missed the point altogether at the time of the earlier composition and made a fresh discovery traversing the same domain of ideas thirty-five years after.

THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION : ITS BLESSINGS AND SHORTCOMINGS

CHUNILAL MITRA, M.A., B.T.

Of late there is no other topic at once more attracting and distracting than the Wardha Scheme of Education. It has occupied a distinct place both in the Press and the platform in India and abroad. While the Sergeant Report envisaged India's literacy in forty year's time, India, in her multitudinous nation-building plans after the achievement of her independence, hopes to make her entire people literate in a period even half than forty years (in 16 years according to Kher Committee). No wonder therefore that after having the opinion of the Education Ministers of the Provinces both separately and collectively, the Education Minister of the Union Government has heralded a crusade against illiteracy and proclaimed 'in extenso' the adoption of the Wardha Scheme of basic education. In tune with the Centre's policy and direction the provinces have been up and doing in introducing the scheme throughout the length and breadth of the country. As the entire plan is an experimental one it is too premature to call it a success and it is equally impertinent and inopportune to discard the same as a failure. Herein we will discuss in brief within the short compass the novelty and advantages as well as the pitfalls, if any, of the scheme as such without probing into details.

Of the Mahatma who was the originator of the scheme it is enough to say that he was a man of strong conviction. His faith was Himalayan. He was the most conservative as well as the most liberal in the sense that he was open-minded and frank in admitting amendments to his theories and ideas. Moreover, he gave us a philosophy of life in its entirety. So his ideas must neither be construed in fragments nor be applied in parts. They should either be accepted or rejected in toto, as his ideas are more fundamental than superficial, more basic than surface deep.

The present system of education from the primary right upto highest stage has great limitations. Average students at present get a smattering of something which may be anything but education. Surely "more than twenty years of the growing period of life spent

in such aimless manner must inculcate in the pupils habits of procrastination, hesitation, irresoluteness and inability to take decisions in the pursuits of life." According to Gandhiji and all other educational reformers, education is the all-round drawing out of the best in man, and in this sense literacy in itself is no education—neither its beginning nor its end. So, Gandhiji says "the present mode of education is radically wrong from bottom to top." To be out of this rot and to get rid of the present paraphernalia, and hoax of education, the Wardha Scheme has been formulated. In fact, Gandhiji propounded his theory and wanted to give it a fair trial only with a view to wiping out the glaring defects of the present system. In his own words, "The one necessity is faith in the ideology and determination to face the task and stamp out the existing evil."

As the Father of the Nation, as the pioneer of so many great historic movements, as the founder of the principle of Non-violence-in-action, Gandhiji, like his predecessor and compatriot the great Swami Vivekananda, became restless to have in India some sort of education which must be at once *national and useful*. He thought in his own way that this education must be by means of some vocational or manual training. He learned this principle from Kallenbach, who in his turn had his training in a Trappist Monastery. And Gandhiji got some amount of experience and success of the principle when he had trained his own sons and other children in Tolstoy Farm in South Africa. His idea was to impart the whole art and science of a craft through practical training—through imparting the whole education. With the inauguration of the Government of India Act, 1935 in 1937, Congress took the reins of the administration of as many as seven provinces. Gandhiji took opportunity to place his scheme before the Ministers of Education of the Congress-administered Provinces in particular and leading educationists of the country in general. On the 22nd and 23rd October, 1937 on the occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Marwari Education Society, Gandhiji was requested to preside over the function. The agenda of the session consisted of four propositions.—The first related to the *state* of the existing system, the second related to the *course* of primary education envisaged, the third was concerned with the *kind* of education to be imparted and the fourth and last was in connection with the *functions* of the State Universities. The present system of primary education was not only *defective* but thoroughly wasteful. It was proposed that the course should be extended at

least to seven years, that all training should as far as practicable be given through a *profit-yielding vocation* and that state Universities should be purely *examining bodies* and *self-supporting* through the fees charged for examinations.

Corresponding to four propositions in the agenda four resolutions were adopted which constitute the foundation of the Wardha Scheme. They are: Universal, free and compulsory education for seven years; the medium of instruction should be mother tongue; it should centre round some form of manual and productive work and development of other abilities be integrally related to this handicraft with an eye to the environment of the child; and it is expected that it will gradually be able to cover the remuneration of teachers. In short, the central idea of this new scheme is 'intellectual training in and through a basic craft.

A cursory analysis of the scheme brings out five fundamental features, *viz.*, it is craft-centred, it is self-supporting, it is of seven year's duration, its medium is one's mother tongue and the correlating and consolidating string of the scheme is non-violence.

Now, to say that the system must be craft-centred does not mean that the education should be solely vocational. It simply means that it should have a vocational basis (not bias). Nay, the novelty and the differentiating mark of the scheme is herein brought into play, *viz.*, subjects like history, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, language, and even painting, music, etc. are to be taught as matters correlating the basic craft. In fact, provision must be made in the syllabus to introduce some productive manual labour, to stimulate intellect through a craft and to correlate various subjects with that basic craft.

Some manual work as the centre of education has been advocated by many eminent educationists, and the Project Method in America and the Complex Method in Russia are also craft-centred though the Wardha Scheme is much superior to either of the two. Thus it is simply good and excellent that the primary education should be basically vocational. Moreover, as to the graded steps of education suggested in the scheme it appears to be not only novel but revolutionary. For instance, in Gandhiji's own words: "The whole training will be natural, responsive, and therefore, the quickest and the cheapest in the land. The children of my school will, therefore, read much more quickly than they will write. And when they write, they will not produce daubs as I do even now (thanks to my teachers), but they will trace correct figures of the objects they see." The statement is true to its core.

Thus as to the cogency and feasibility of several features nothing is to be questioned. We propose to dwell at length on several other features which require elucidation and comment.

The most controversial factor is its self-supporting character and the scheme's success or failure depends on this feature—its acid test. This factor has claimed double meaning—it will help one to be self-supporting in later life, and it is an education which in itself is self-supporting. Gandhiji means that this sort of education is an insurance against unemployment. To put it more bluntly: "You impart education and simultaneously cut at the root of unemployment". Elsewhere he has said and clarified that it is self-supporting during the sum total of seven years, and to start with, particularly during the first two years it may mean a partial loss. Thus the scheme does not claim to be self-supporting in the initial stage. In fact, "Land, buildings and equipment are not intended to be covered by the proceeds of the pupils' labour". It is self-supporting in itself in the sense that it will enable a pupil to pay for his tuition through the products of his labour. But this too is self-eluding, and if not extravagant at least an undue claim. For it has been based on the assumption that the minimum salary of a teacher to be fixed at Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 per month. This is a hopelessly meagre sum to afford a barest living subsistence even to a single man. It is once again not in consonance with the general economic level of the country. Hence this claim of being self-supporting even partially does not stand.

In fact the scheme has been planned to be self-supporting on the first assumption, that India is proverbially a poor country and there is no other way to carry education to the crores of our children and to make it at once free and compulsory unless it is made so. This has been emphasised to such an extent that it has been considered to be the 'raison d'être' of the idea. But this is not true. Our contention is that money must come from some source or other, and pupils must not be forced to think, work and learn that the price of the product of their work would cover their tuition fee even at a later date.

Next question that crops up in this connection is:—If it is presumed that the scheme is free from the parents' side and paying from the pupils' side, and if it is presumed that it is self-supporting in later part of a pupil's learning and for the sum total of seven years even assuming a teacher's pay to be only Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 p.m., the question is yet left unanswered what is the guarantee that all pupils will be equally fit or at all fit to produce products just to cover their tuition fees. It has been argued in support of the scheme, that the stage will

buy the products of the children's labour. But the State cannot buy these for nothing, nor can it store them only to destroy at a later date as we had destroyed lot of food grains during the early rationing period. The ultimate consumers will be the people and they must purchase them at their market price.

It is no good suggesting that because they are the products of the labour of our children they must be purchased at a rate ten or hundred per cent more than the market price, as the patriotic people had purchased one piece of Khaddar or one chatak of salt during the hot Swadeshi movement. Not to speak of its propriety it is no economics at all. For to use Gandhiji's words "True economics never militates against the highest ethical standard, just as all true ethics to be worth the name must at the same time be also good economics."

Thus unless this question is solved the self-supporting character of the scheme falls to the ground once again. Indeed, the Mahatma himself has hinted at the source of income when he asserts, "We cannot wait until we have the necessary revenue and until the Viceroy reduces the Military expenditure." So, if the then Viceroy could not reduce the military expenditure, our present free and national Government would surely curtail expenditures in dozen heads and must find out other sources of money to provide free and compulsory primary education to the children of the soil. Thus our own present Government will be working under a false presumption and a faulty apprehension in their attempt to make the free primary education self-supporting in this restricted sense. Moreover, Gandhiji did not mean exploitation in any sphere. Hence his reluctance to tax the people for educational expenses. Here he is consistent enough in view of his entire scheme. But unfortunately to-day the public are being taxed and exploited in hundred and one way more than they were in the pre-independence days under the British regime. Hence, it has more pertinently been asked 'If England and America spend millions on education, why not India?' Surely, if they have reduced the art of exploitation to a science, India, of late, has explained it in terms of nation-building purposes and to cover up the post-partition reverses. Nay, parents may even voluntarily contribute to the education of their sons if the latter become really fit in life and can reasonably contribute to their family after the end of their education. In this respect then, this spontaneous sacrifice of a part of their income may not be termed 'taxation' even in its proper sense. It is not, however, placing one wrong to put an end to another and

have its justification. It is just arguing against the partially self-sufficient character of the scheme.

The second assumption is that the success of the Wardha scheme depends on its teachers. While selecting the right type of teachers it claims to have them of the social type. By this it again means that the teachers working under the scheme must be people who are imbued with a patriotic favour, who are local people, who have identified their interest with that of the school and who have no other future save and except the future well-fare of the students themselves. The scheme thus envisaged that "The teacher leaves in the same village and works in the same school with the feeling that the village and its school are his own and that their progress and prosperity are his personal concern." So, here so many claims have been made and false presumptions suggested. And unless these factors are fulfilled the scheme will not succeed. Moreover, to ask these type of teachers to work on a petty pittance of Rs. 25 per month is to demand of them more than patriotic services. No man can render any service worth its name on such remuneration, least so in the execution of such a grand and noble scheme. And yet, we are asking credulous young men to render such patriotic and voluntary services which are nothing less than self-sacrificing and even starving. But we should bear in mind that patriotism cannot be coerced, nor can we have this type of teachers either by conscription or by persuasion.

We are thus faced with a knotty problem that, while attempting to relieve some (parents) we are taxing some others (teachers), and subsequently we will see further that we are taxing the former too in a later stage indirectly and in a round-about way. In other words, whatever relief is offered in persuasion is withdrawn under compulsion if not in deception. This does not speak for good morality and integrity.

As to the future of the existing staff of primary school teachers the dilemma has so often been put: If these teachers continue, the Wardha Scheme will be a failure, and if they are sent out they will swell considerably the numbers of the unemployed. It is up to our Governments to rebut it.

The school-going age of people under the Wardha Scheme has been calculated to be between 7 and 14 and the duration of the course of primary education has been fixed to be seven years or more. Thus to complete the primary course of the original scheme a pupil may attend even 15 or 16 years of his age. And this has its justification because the Wardha School aims at the Matriculation Standard as it

covers all the subjects up to the Matriculation Standard except English *plus* a vocation. No wonder, therefore, among the teaching staff it has provision to absorb even graduates. Times without number Gandhiji has put it: I have included secondary in primary education . . . For the moment the primary question is solved, the secondary one of college education will be solved easily. It is obvious then that under the scheme primary covers the present primary, middle and secondary, while secondary has been identified with the higher, *i.e.*, College education.

Here a difficult problem comes in: If the pupils in a Wardha primary school are to spend the prime period of their lives up to Matriculation-age, will the Provincial Governments and the existing Universities give them the same opportunities as they are being offered to Matriculates? Will the future avenues be left open to them (even according to their choice and proficiency in the basic craft), and will their status in life fetch their parents and family the same degree of relief in shape of money as in the parallel spheres? If not, it is a bad investment on the part of the parents to send their children to the schools under the scheme and a bad morality on the part of the State to set up such schools at an initial non-recurring cost of several thousands of rupees either at Government expense or public donations and to induce the parents to send their children to such institutions raising high hopes. It is bad economics on the one side and bad morality on the other. Gandhiji himself points out: "An economics that enables the strong to amass wealth at the expense of the weak is a false and dismal science." There must be more harmonious and uniform policies of the Government in all other directions in conformity with the application of the Wardha Scheme in a nation-wide scale. Otherwise it is not enough to be eloquent in preaching Gandhiji's ideas and ideology. Nor it is good to profess one thing and practise something different. Equally it is neither wise nor expedient to attach importance to some portions of a great scheme and to omit or suppress some other. So, from our leaders and administrators, we at least expect that amount of sincerity and open-mindedness as Gandhiji himself had. It is obvious that none is more confident in the scheme than its maker himself. But as to its plausibility he himself says, "I approach the task in confidence but in all humility with an open mind and with the will to learn and to revise and correct my views whenever necessary." There is thus much truth in the saying that because the scheme has emanated from Mahatmaji it has gained that attention and importance which it

otherwise might not have secured. May this be a pointer to those who are out to execute the plan by setting up schools.

But Gandhiji has given us a philosophy of life which is neither rigid nor compartmental, but a living whole, and all his plans big or small, economic, social or educational are directed towards the realisation of this truth. He has so often said that his own life is an experiment in truth and non-violence. So, his integrity and consistency are never questioned. He is the last person to impose and thrust anything on his people, nor is he after carrying anything by storm. What is questioned is its successful workability. Thus to conclude the present discussion in Mahatmaji's own words: "The scheme should be accepted after full and mature consideration so that it may not have to be given up after a while." We may not think that our Governments, Central and Provincial have accepted it only to reject it at a subsequent date. We may not even doubt in their integrity and may not think impertinently that they haven't considered its pros and cons. Our humble contention is only this that before registering our whole-hearted allegiance to the excellence of the scheme (which it has got in an extraordinary manner) in categorical and unequivocal terms the relevant issues must be solved and allied questions answered.

PROBLEMS OF MODERN HISTORY*

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I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over the Modern Section of the Twelfth Session of the Indian History Congress. For me it is more than a mere conventional profession of diffidence for the little light I have been able to throw on some corner of Modern Indian History does not entitle me to the honour you have bestowed on me. I thank you again from the bottom of my heart.

The modern period of Indian history with its overwhelming mass of materials has its own peculiar problems. The Court of Directors believed in transacting official business by the written word. Excessive noting and writing also characterised the administration that succeeded that of the Company. This abundance of records enables us to survey their work with the eyes of contemporaries. We can recapture the atmosphere not only of the early twentieth century but also of the nineteenth and the eighteenth and understand the passions that swayed the minds of men. But such plentiful material is available only about the British in India, not about the Indians themselves. Until late in the nineteenth century when the Indians began to write more fully about themselves our knowledge of Indian life is comparatively scanty. The British began to run things in the British way and did not learn to run things in the Indian way and never got into the Indian mind and the Indian habit of thought. The official records appear to be very full but they throw only fitful lights on those in India who did not come into contact with the British.

Of the history of Bengal from Plassey to the Permanent Settlement we know the minutest details of the doings of Clive, Verelst, Cartier, Hastings, Philip Francis, John Shore, Macpherson and Cornwallis from official records and other papers. We have besides almost a complete picture of the social life of the Englishman in India. We also know much about Mir Jafar, Mir Qasim, Md. Reza Khan,

* Address delivered as President of Modern History Section of the Indian History Congress, held at Cuttak in December, 1949.

Nandakumar, Nabakrishna and others who came into contact with Englishmen. I read the records of the Mayor's Court, the Supreme Court, the Sadr Dewani and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat preserved in the High Court of Calcutta in the hope that these papers might give much useful information about the Indian world on which other official papers do not throw any light. But before the advent of the British the Indians were not a litigious people and this habit spread as a consequence of the activity of the Supreme Court. Mohan. Prasad, who accused Nanda Kumar and Amirchand (Omichand), the dupe of Clive—familiar names in the early judicial records—were not typical Indians of the eighteenth century. Any one who traces the evolution of British judiciary in India must set on its debit side this growth of the spirit of litigation that reached such enormous proportions in later times.

I, therefore, felt as I read the records that there is much that eludes me with the result that I am unable to grasp some of the vital processes of Indian life. I feel that not only ancient and mediaeval records but also the records of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century are starved with lacunae. Attention has been focussed on "those nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery who sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bhang, fondling concubines and listening to buffoons." But Murshidabad was not the centre of Bengali life nor did Calcutta with its vulgarity and commercialism represent Bengal of those days. The chief characteristic of rural life was contentment with the environment. G. M. Trevelyan thus refers to the liberties and opportunities that resulted from isolation: "Absence of means of communication did more for human freedom than Magna Carta . . . the fact of local isolation protected many things, individual and excellent permitted to survive not on principle but by neglect." In spite of changes wrought by British administration these 'pockets' guarded by privilege and neglect continued until a much later period. It would be possible with the aid of historical imagination to reconstruct from the survivals in later years the life that our ancestors lived in the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century. Contemporary literature would be helpful.

It has been suggested that the history of British India should be written again on the basis of private memoirs. I have read some of these memoirs and I can assert that if British Indian history be thus re-written it would not be the history of India in the modern period but a very interesting cross-section of British social history. As I

read the memoirs of William Hickey, the opulent eighteenth century Calcutta attorney, I was struck by his complete lack of interest in the country. There are in his memoirs only a few references to clerks, clients, servants and mistresses. I read *Both Ends of the Candle* written by Denison Ross. It conveyed to me the impression of European irritation at the growing uppishness of the natives. Lord Hardinge's *My Indian Years* shows clearly the limitations of this type of work. His were the days of Tilak and Annie Besant but they are mentioned only glancingly. With the improvement of communications England came nearer to India and the British officials brought with them to India all their prejudices and conventions. Those Indians who came into contact with them imitated the manners of Englishmen. Unlike John Shore, Thomas Munro and Mountstuart Elphinstone of the glorious days of the East India Company English officials of later days never felt the strain of balancing between two civilizations. The spiritual boundaries of India were set too far back for them. There were very few British people in India in later years who could say like H. Beveridge—"India has burnt itself into me." They normally lived an incurious life in their own comfortable circle. How can their private memoirs help us? Most of them cannot supply the deficiency of official records.

Our greatest handicap is our inability to express ourselves in a common language. We have to use English as our medium. But our literary style is naturally undistinguished. How much style matters in history is seen from the influence of Macaulay whose want of perspective, balance and breadth has been forgotten in the blaze of glory. His articles on Hastings and Clive have distorted the views of generations of Englishmen on India. With his superiority complex he could understand only the vulgar aspect of Indian life, was incapable of understanding its finer shades and was unaware of its ultimate values. As against writers of this type we should depend upon the knock down effect of veracity. Research and more research should be our motto. Clarity of presentation should make up for lack of imperishable words until we succeed in perfecting a common language with a rich vocabulary and phraseology under the intellectual stimulus of a new sense of nationhood.

I would now like to draw your attention to the different stages that mark the advance of modern Indian historical studies. At the beginning some distinguished servants of the East India Company naturally took in hand the task of writing the history of India in the modern period. The magnificent success of the British inspired but

did not intoxicate them. The history of those Indian powers who failed in the clash of arms with the British was described by these authors not without sympathy and understanding. Mark Wilks, Grant Duff, James Mill, Davey Cunningham can each claim for himself the merits of patient and laborious investigation and of original and independent judgment. With the possible exception of Mill on certain individuals we do not find in these historians any conscious prejudice. They also utilized all the advantages of contemporary or semi-contemporary writing. Even if their works are jettisoned there will remain much of value and their names will ever be honoured in the world of historical scholarship. They had each of them an inspiring theme and their perspective was enlarged rather than distorted by the lens of propinquity.

The next stage of modern Indian historical studies was marked by a different approach. The first generation of English historians had made an attempt to understand India. But in the later years of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth greater narrowness and self-sufficiency characterised British writing on Indian history. We should not go so far as to assert that modern Indian history became the victim of conscious or unconscious propaganda. That would be doing a great injustice to such historians as Hunter, Firminger and others. But what one knows naturally receives undue attention on account of adjacent obscurities. The approach was essentially un-Indian. Moreover, England's work in India had lost its first fine rapture and the fulfilment of British power in India was not such an inspiring theme as the rise of it.

Indian contribution to modern Indian history has been very inconsiderable and the modern period of Indian history, as we have it, is the history not of the Indian but of the Englishman in India. When we began to write our own history a different approach became inevitable. But our work on the modern period suffers from lack of courage and vigour. Work on an ambitious scale is difficult because the historian has then to look for a considerable portion of his materials in the archives in England. The knowledge that a vast mass of materials exists which he cannot fully utilize without incurring very heavy expenses serves as a brake on enthusiasm. This is perhaps responsible for a tendency to 'pottering,' to go on from one detail to another without trying to formulate conclusions. No doubt a complete assemblage of the smallest facts tells in the end and monographs and dissertations would prepare the ground for more ambitious works at some future day. But the tendency merely to produce materials has

been carried perhaps rather too far. R. C. Dutt's *Economic History of British India* reached the highest standard inspite of incomplete data. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* combines a wide sweep with the closest attention to minutiae and the fullest collection of all available data. There are many inspiring themes and sympathy and warmth should enable us to understand better and interpret more correctly the history in India in the modern period than it has been possible for outsiders to do. Even at this stage the Indian historian should be capable of doing more than merely the mechanical portion of the historian's job.

I would now deal with the problem of rewriting modern Indian history. A nation's identity is rooted in the consciousness of its history. A new stage in a nation's growth is accompanied by a rewriting of its history with special reference to the episodes that are regarded by it as vital. Nothing can justify smart writing or *a priori* reconstruction and there is always the proviso that the work should be done by historians proper and not dictated by politicians. The consensus of opinion regards the Rebellion of 1857 (the Mutiny) as one such episode on which much new evidence is accumulating or has accumulated. We were taught to think that this momentous event was due to greased cartridges, the annexation of Oudh, the low percentage of European officers, the weakening of regimental discipline, the first Anglo-Afghan War, Indian prejudice and priestcraft provocation by bureaucratic politicians and bureaucratic soldiers. Those who are prone to generalize would describe it as the protest of tradition against innovation, of the old order against the new. But it is difficult to get away from the feeling that Lord Dalhousie summed up in himself all that led to that great upheaval. He was an efficient administrator with a very mean nature which, more than any other thing, brought about this upheaval. The administrators at that time had to choose between two points of view. One school of opinion asserted, "We are deeply bound to treat them kindly because they are down." The reply was, "I will endeavour to give every man his due more than this no one should expect." But man's sense of justice is very fallible and as men in power are very seldom conscious of their weaknesses it would have made a world of difference if the policy of generous treatment had been preferred to the policy of so-called just treatment. I am inclined to think that the great upheaval of 1857 was not inevitable. The trend of events had already pointed to the transfer from the Company to the Crown. That memorable event only hastened the process as much as the Bengal famine of 1770 had hastened the

decision of the Company to stand forth as the Dewan. Though it was not inevitable it happened so and it wears all the inviolable sacredness of the accomplished fact.

I would in this connection also point out the irreparable damage that has been done by oversimplification of history. The object of history is to know and understand the past in all its aspects. Only in that sense can it be the basis of our education in the humanities. But our study of the recent past has been very lopsided for we have looked upon it too much from the British point of view. After the British conquest of India British administration became the most important factor of Indian history. But we have simplified the tangled skein of human affairs by making it the central theme and attaching significance only to those facts that help to develop it. Many other facts that have been ignored are more significant than the details of British achievement in politics and administration on which we have concentrated. I would give only a few illustrations.

In Ahmad Shah Abdali's expedition of 1757 the Muslims suffered most from this fellow Muslim because they had most to lose. The agony of Delhi under the Afghan terror, the bastinado of eminent Muslim noblemen from which they could only be rescued by Hindu bankers, the virgin tribute which was extorted from the imperial family should serve as an eye-opener to those who look upon the subsequent battle at Panipat as a triumph of the Muslims combined against the Hindus oblivious of the service of Ibrahim Khan Gardi and his devoted band to the Maratha cause. In the Khudabaksh Library at Patna there is a beautiful Persian Ms—*Hisabnama Fouji-Ranjit Singh* which gives a fragment of the pay roll of the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The formidable array of Muslim names in the artillery branch shows the important part played by them in the regular army of the Maharaja. The *Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records* confirms this fact. These Muslim artillerymen fought faithfully for the Sikh state in the battles of Ferozshuhur and Sobraon and were largely responsible for the terrible artillery fire of the Sikh army which in the words of Subadar Sitaram, who fought for the British in this campaign, was like *bursat* (rains). Mr. Darling in his recent book *At Freedom's Door* describes a journey on horseback from Peshawar to Jubbulpur before the advent of Indian Independence. In the course of his tour he met Muslims who for generations had the genealogies kept and horoscopes cast by Brahmins and passed villages owned by Muslims and Sikhs or by Hindus and Muslims springing from common ancestors and even came across one village

in which Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were of the same tribe. It is oversimplified history that has bred fanaticism and helped propaganda and must be held responsible for the shame and misery and horrors of our recent past. The evils of a little history have been terrible. We should have more history rather than less. It would contribute to the growth of human understanding. A general history of India should not be merely a succinct summary of results. It should be the record not of what has happened but of what has mattered. The nation's sense of its environment and its heritage has not been fully developed by the lopsided manner in which modern history has been presented.

I hope you will not consider it presumptuous on my part if I say something about contemporary history. Mr. Churchill says in his *Second World War* Vol. I—"I do not describe it as history for that belongs to another generation. But I claim with confidence that it is a contribution to history which will be of service to the future." It is very necessary to write the history of India of the last 30/40 years—the more modern period. There is some compensation in proximity. We know much better the passions and feelings of the time. It is impossible to attain a high standard of scholarship on topical subjects. It is easier to write about the more distant past because the attrition of time eliminates a part of the evidence. But inspite of the handicaps if historians do not write the history of recent events that which history leaves out will be filled by partisan propaganda. Misrepresentation will then get a start and a long one. I would in this connection refer to the fallacy of our belief in written evidence. In the shaping of events atmosphere is more important than the written word. As an illustration I would refer to the relations between a departmental Secretary and a Minister. A generation after the historian may not know that most elusive factor—personality. As he would examine the records he would find that in ninety cases out of hundred the Minister merely agreed with his Secretary. The conclusion that the Secretary shaped policy would be justified from the records. But it may be that that official in his anxiety to please his chief is responsible for only such noting on the files as would accord with his wishes. Excessive reliance upon written evidence afflicts all historians and only contemporary history can be to some extent free from this affliction. If the sources of a historian are sufficiently complete he can never be too close to his history. But if the means of judgment are not provided as in the case of Sidney and Beatrice Webbs' book on Soviet Russia it falls very short of the

mark. In the particular case inspite of the attainments of the authors it has become an eminent example of speculation not founded on data. In recent years selective documentation and objective, painstaking, faithful presentation of materials of contemporary history have become fashionable. The works of Chatham House combine with an intensive study of all relevant papers strict accuracy, a scrupulous sincerity and justice in comment. But this is not enough. As a critic of their publication *Soviet Foreign Policy* points out the problem of the historians is to write a book which shall be accurate and interesting. The problem is not solved by writing a book that is merely accurate. Thucydides wrote contemporary history, took great pains to collect facts through travel and conversation. He sought the truth in all sincerity, and Europe derives from him the tradition of history as a science of facts and as an art appealing to the readers.

This brings us to a consideration of the history of our own national struggle. We are perhaps too near the theme of the epic to be able to write it. But the next generation will miss the actual passions of the past and will stumble along the trail trying to reconstruct its scenes and revive its echoes. When all the impersonal factors are set out a large gap still remains. Even policy is made by methods so normally human and much depends on unrecorded conversations and upon likes and antipathies of the most elusive nature. Some of the great men who have played their part in the national struggle have given us a first hand record of it but there are many others who have remained silent. It would be doing a great service to the cause of history if arrangements are made to collect this evidence that will disappear with them. A planned procedure would be necessary and the work must be done on a regional basis. It is only in this way that we shall be able to give to future generations the atmosphere of the national struggle of the twentieth century.

Research work in the field of modern Indian history was hampered because libraries were rare, archives were secret and documents were scattered. The state of things has improved. Particular mention may be made of the process of reproduction which has been perfected. At this stage it is necessary to have full descriptive catalogues in the different record offices that would enable scholars even in distant places to take up subjects of all-India interest without being compelled to rush from one record office to another and stay for a long period in each place. But unless the India Office records become available to us here research workers in the field of modern Indian history cannot achieve the success they are anxious to achieve.

Scientific method will control and the national spirit will quicken the work of historical research by scores of toiling students only if Governments and Universities help to make the task of collection of materials much less difficult than it is now.

Before I conclude I would like to add a few words on the scope of research on the modern history of Orissa. I am not competent to throw new light. I am only aware of the possibilities. During the period 1757-1803 Orissa under the Bhonsles occupied a very important strategic position. It was a wedge between Bengal and Madras preventing communication by land. It necessitated safeguarding of Bengal's frontier from predatory Maratha inroads. In the British diplomatic records in the National Archives of India there are many papers that testify to British interest in Orissa during these years. This chapter on the history of British diplomacy from Clive to Wellesley makes very interesting reading. The country was very little known inspite of the fact that the British had begun their trade in the Bay in Orissa. Anthony Polier's map based on surveys in 1762-1763 merely traced the country from Balasore to the Ganges. Thomas Motte, "Free merchant" was sent by Clive in 1766 to ascertain whether the Marathas would cede Orissa in return for an annual tribute and to open a trade in diamonds with the Raja of Sambalpur. He made an interesting route-survey from Cuttack to Sambalpur. Yet Pearse who took an army from Bengal to Madras in 1781 thus describes the journey through Orissa: "I am passing through a country as little known as if it were in the midst of China, a country that seems made up of the shreds and fragments of a world in Dame Nature's shop."

Orissa's importance in the political sense ended when it came under British sway. But more interesting than political history must be the history of the feudal organisation and the peasant militia which had once been the pride of Utkal and had achieved remarkable triumphs in an earlier period. The history of their decline must also be very instructive. The Bhonsles had a benumbed existence after 1773. Yet the feudal aristocracy of Orissa and the peasant militia failed to shake off the yoke though they made the position of the Marathas as precarious as possible.

The British as traders advanced from the Spice Islands to the mainland of India, from the Coast to the Bay, from Balasore to Hughli and from Hughli to Calcutta. But I do not think any very satisfactory account of British trade in Orissa under the Mughal and Maratha rule can be given from extant materials. The personal-

ity of the 'faithful' Narayan, the company's broker at Balasore, attracts but he was too modest a figure to achieve fame. Job Charnock's sack of Balasore was more to the taste of the diarist and the chronicler.

I can only plead for a very thorough and systematic utilisation of all available records of Orissa, official and unofficial. The lack of thrilling incidents in the 19th century is an advantage because there were very few historical persons or sensational happenings that could divert the attention from sober history. Any one who has examined historical records in Government archives in a thorough fashion must have been impressed by one characteristic of early British administrators in the 19th century. In matters in which they were interested they tried to secure all possible information, historical and statistical. On pre-existing local customs and on processes that led to later developments they supply unexpected information. A patient student of Orissa records is in a position to make enduring contribution to the economic and social history of the Province.

CAUSERIE ON LETTERS

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(1)

Gone are the days of letter-writing in this era of hurry and bustle, noise and nerves, mass hysteria and doctored news and views, telephone calls and radio communications. Letters can take us through all the gamuts of emotions and record various experiences of man on the individual and personal level not on a mass production basis. But the modern tendency to streamline our sentiments and air-condition our emotions is harmful to the composition as well as the enjoyment of genuine letters which fundamentally demand a free and spontaneous expression of one's thoughts and emotions. Letter-writing is not an art of intellectual gymnastics with one eye on the recipient of the letter and the other on its future reader (posterity). Letters are soliloquies on paper and their reading is an enjoyable excursion combining instruction with amusement. They often reveal the pettiness and greatness of man, taking us sometimes through the highways and byways of history and biography, revealing the comedies and tragedies of life.

Fine arts—literature known as *belles lettres* is one of the fine arts—are part of culture which is essentially a product of leisure. We in modern times have lost the art of enjoying leisure and consequently the artistic and artless products of leisure. Good letters are composed often by leisurely minds and it is claimed that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave the world's greatest letters since it was an age of leisure. In English literature there are such master letter-writers like Cowper, Horace Walpole, Boswell, and Lamb belonging to that age. Masters of fiction like Richardson gave us that now defunct form of novel known as the epistolary novel. In that age there was a universal craving to give and receive news and it bred chiefly one type of correspondence—the leisurely news letter such as Madame de Sévigné's letters to her daughter and the recently discovered Boswell's garrulous letter to Temple on his visit to Voltaire. Horace Walpole's letters were chiefly the equivalent of the modern news-paper news and gossip columns. Madame de Sévigné's letters

to her daughter and Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son are good specimen of the epistolary art in French and English literature. They express the spirit of the salon and voice the sentiments of an aristocrat dominated society. But letter-writing is essentially a democratic if not universal form of expression. Where life has been lived intensely, it has almost always been recorded intimately and consequently led to great letter-writing. All great men do not necessarily write great letters and all who write great letters are not necessarily great men. It is a gift of self-expression which every great man does not possess. Christopher Columbus wrote a pompous, verbose travel letter after a momentous journey in 1492. Michael Faraday whose epoch-making researches for the applications of electricity to modern industry proves that though one may be able to summon up at will the principles of electro dynamics and the influence of the magnetic field on polarised light one cannot necessarily synthesise the elements whereof a love letter is made. Here is a letter he wrote to Sarah Barnard who became his devoted wife for many years:

"Royal Institution, Thursday evening

[December, 1820]

MY DEAR SARAH,

It is astonishing how much the state of the body influences the powers of the mind. I have been thinking all the morning of the very delightful and interesting letter I would send you this evening, and now I am so tired and yet have so much to do that my thoughts are quite giddy and run round your image without any power of themselves to stop and admire it. I want to say a thousand kind and believe me, heartfelt things to you, but am not master of words fit for the purpose; and still, as I ponder and think on you, chlorides, trials, oil, Davy, steal, miscellanea, mercury, and fifty other professional fancies swim before me and drive me further and further into the quandry of stupidity.

From your affectionate

MICHAEL."

The great biographies of the Victorian age were entitled Life and Letters of so-and-so who was great, near-great, or pseudo-great, born great, achieved greatness or greatness was thrust upon him. These biographies were often written either by the son, the wife, the brother, the nephew, the friend, or the disciple of the man, a sort of solemn

literary *shrada* and they contained letters galore, instructive very often pompous not seldom, throwing a flood of light upon the men and their age. We have also private letters published in autobiographies, a very fascinating branch of literature, and those private letters from often the most fascinating branch of autobiography. They often reveal the noble and the petty dwelling in the same habitation.

When any person humble or great has a soul-shaking experience he can write a letter about it. The chances are such a letter written on the spur of the moment hot from the crucible of experience will be dramatic and memorable. Learned toms have been written on the qualifications that make for effective letter-writing. Some favour the compact, some the terse, some the allusive, some the witty, some the gossipy, some the leisurely, some the inspired, and some the heroic mode of expression. The fact, however, is that there is no rule of thumb mode of letter-writing, no critic-concocted recipe of letter-writing as there is none for novel-writing or play-writing. The life giving quality of letters is found in the simplest test—the ability to transfer on paper an experience, an emotion, or an idea. A good letter may be and often is a free gossiping on paper. There may go to the great doyen of literature in the eighteenth century, that robust intelligence which in its very defects had the granite quality of substance and solidity. Dr. Johnson, who robustly asked Boswell to clear his mind of cant (and who can deny that we, of the modern age, have allowed lots of cants to clutter up as so many bats in our belfry to-day), said to Mrs. Thrale something wise about letters in a letter:

“Dearest Madam,

You talk of writing and writing, as if you had all the writing to yourself. If our correspondence were printed, I am sure posterity, for posterity is always the author's favourite, would say that I am a good writer too. To sit down so often with nothing to say: to say something so often, almost without consciousness of saying, and without any remembrance of having said, is a power of which I will not violate my modesty by boasting, but I do not believe every body has it.

Some, when they write to their friends, are all affection: some wise and contentious: some strain their powers for efforts of gaiety: some write news, and some write secrets: but to make a letter without affection, without wisdom, without gaiety, without news, and without a secret is, doubtless, the great epistolic art.

In a man's letter, you know, Madam, his soul lies naked, his letters are the only mirror of his heart. Whatever passes within

him is shown undisguised in its natural process: nothing is inverted nothing distorted: you see systems in their elements: you discover actions in their motives.

Of this great truth, sounded by the knowing to the ignorant, and so echoed by the ignorant to the knowing, what evidence have you before you? Is not my soul laid open in these veracious pages? Do you not see me reduced to my first principles? Is not this the pleasure of corresponding with a friend, where doubt and distrust have no place, and everything is said as it is thought? . . . These are the letters by which souls are united, and by which minds naturally in unison move each other as they are moved themselves. I know, dearest Lady, that in the perusal of this, such is the consanguinity of our intellects, you will be touched as I am touched. I have concealed nothing from you, nor do I expect ever to repent of having thus opened my heart. I am, etc.

Samuel Johnson."

Taine stated his famous determinist formula that literature is determined by three general causes, the *race*, the *milieu* (physical or historical), and the *moment* (weights of the anterior development, pressure of what is, upon what wishes to be). For the appreciation and valuation of the epistolary art it is necessary to consider the letter-writer, his recipient and its *raison d'être*. Letters are often corrective for pompous Clio the muse of history and epic poetry. Letters give us great lives at their most glorious, their most characteristic moments. Letters make the most fascinating reading in the world, especially the private letters of other people. In letters the dark corridors as well as the loftiest towers in the hall of fame give up some of their inviolable secrets. Voltaire wrote, "The post is the consolation of life." This opinion is corroborated by William James who stated. "As long as there are postmen, life will have a zest." George Jean Nathan asserted, "the public will always give up its dinner to read love-letters." Christopher Morley says, "It is chiefly—perhaps only—in letters that one gets the mother-of-pearly shimmer inside the oyster of Fact." To quote a solitary adverse opinion on the habit of letter-writing the American philosopher and author of the essay on "Civil Disobedience," from whom Mahatma Gandhi borrowed his famous idea for resistance to evil, Thoreau who was an individualist stated, "As the inner life fails, people run desperately to the post office" and he further affirmed that he had not in all his life received more than two or three letters that were worth the

postage. These are rather strange sentiments from a man who himself wrote such frank and honest letters of self-disclosure.

In this age which suffers from a craze for anthologies of all kinds we have several anthologies of letters. To mention a few of them there are those edited by Saintsbury, E. V. Lucas, Birkenhead, and Schuster. Letters as already stated run through all the gamuts of human emotions and catagories of human interest—love, hatred, patriotism friendship, courage, despair, death, consolation religion, philosophy, science, arts, poetry, music, history-in-the making etc. Letters are difficult to be classified. They may be classified under the caption of their subject or under the heading of their mood. There are love letters and hate letters, shocking letters and smiling letters, letters written in honeyed phrases and letters dipped in gall, bombastic letters and cringing letters, passionate letters and cold letters, casual letters and crafty calculated letters, short letters and voluminous letters, curt letters and garrulous letters. There are plenty to please all tastes. Some letters are to be tested, some to be swallowed and some few to be chewed and digested. Letters are personal or impersonal or mixture of both. They are often written under stresses of great personal emotions or historical or political circumstances.

(2)

All the world loves the lovers and of love-letters we have God's plenty in the literatures of the world. A critic once dismissed love-letters as silly, an opinion not shared by the common man. In the history of the great letters in all languages we meet with the various stages and phases of this most disturbing and sometimes most distressing of passions, the fluttering hesitations, eternal pledges, with all the fleeting interludes, grand passions, petty betrayals, lyrical rhapsodies, romantic marriages, star-crossed lovers, separations and meetings, and tear-drenched tragedies. There are love-letters of great geniuses like Beethoven, conquerors like Napoleon, scientists like the Curies, and poets like the Brownings expressing themselves prettily, grandiloquently, romantically. The gorgeous sceptre and crown is equal made with the poor crooked scythe and spade when love is at stake. In Venezuela it is said the post office permits love letters to go through the post at half-rates provided they are sent in bright red envelopes, a laudable concession surely requiring to be emulated in these days of devaluation. Careless love letters, however, sometimes lead to breach of promise cases. Two Americans are talking.

One of them said, "So Hildas' broken it off with Bobby. I wonder if she still keeps his lovely letters." "No," replied the other, "As a matter of fact, they're keeping her now."

There are the most passionate and poignant love letters of Heloise and Abelard whose storm-tossed and star-crossed tragedy has been celebrated by Pope, George Moore, Helen Waddell and many others. Theirs is the classic story of a grand passion of the mediaeval age. Those six to eight letters are too long to be quoted and extracts from them will do no justice to them. Ninon de l'Enclos famed as a Venus for beauty and a Minerva for wit was called by Horace Walpole "a veritable Notre Dame des Amours." She lived till ninety and was loved by such eminent men as Condé, La Rochefoucauld, Saint-Evremont and the Marquis de Sévigné. Her letter to the last epitomizes the sophistication of the Paris salons of the seventeenth century. Turning to Napoleon as a writer of love letters we find that Napoleon literature is rivalled only by Shakesperean literature in range and industry and letters form a very substantial portion of it. A conservative estimate puts approximately 30,000 books about Napoleon. He is reported to have written between 55,000 and 75,000 letters and despatches out of which 41,000 have been printed. His love letters to Josephine alone would make a bulky series of books, ranging from the first note "offering friendship" to the last one telling Josephine that he hears she is "getting fat as a Norman farmer's good wife." In mood they range somewhere between the first faltering letters from a little subordinate general of the Republican army to the last disdainful note from the Emperor of the French. They are boyish shouts from a love-sick youngster—the conqueror at the feet of the cocotte. The last words Napoleon reported to have uttered before his death at St. Helena were "France !.....Armée ! lête d'armée.....Josephine."

Love letters of Byron, Shelley, and Keats are too well known to need to be quoted. Some sentences from Keats' letters to Fanny Browne will suffice. "I love you the more in that I believe you have liked me for my own sake and for nothing else. I have met with women whom I really think would like to be married to a Poem and to be given away by a Novel." "I have no limit now to my love. I have been astonished that men could die martyr of religion. I have shuddered at it. I shudder no more. I could be martyrd for my religion—love is my religion—I could die for you. My creed is love and you are its only tenet." We need not pry too closely into

intimate love letters. As Oscar Wilde wrote in his sonnet *On (the sale by auction of Keats, love-letters.*

“ These are the letters which Endymion wrote
To one he loved in secret, and apart,
And now the brawlers of the auction mart
Bargain and bid for each poor blotted note,
Ay, for each separate pulse of passion quote
The latest price—I think they love not Art
Who break the crystal of a poet’s heart
That small and sickly eyes may glare or gloat.”

The love letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning express “ the inmost music of two hearts beating each to each.” One of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s Sonnets from the Portuguese effectively expresses the love of this pair.

“ How do I love thee? Let me count the ways.
I love thee to the depth and breadth and height
My soul can reach, when feeling out of sight
For the ends of Being and ideal Grace.
I love thee to the level of everyday’s
Most quiet need, by sun and candle light.
I love thee freely, as men strive for right ;
I love thee purely, as they turn from praise.
I love thee with the passion put to use
In my old grief’s, and with my childhood’s faith.
I love thee with a love I seemed to lose
With my lost saints—I love thee with the breath,
Smiles, tears, of all my life !—and, if God choose,
I shall but love thee after death.”

The love of a strong man freed this struggling invalid cooped up mentally and physically by the Victorian strait-laced domineering father and converted her into a blithe singing bird when she broke away from the parental prison house to go out with her soul-mate in quest of the great adventure of life.

To descend from the Alpine heights of such exalted love we turn to the more mundane love letter that Sarah Bernhard, the famous French actress, wrote to the dramatist Victorieu Sardou whom she saw by chance in a *café dansant* in Paris and with her impetuous nature determined to win him—and did. Here is one of her letters to him.

"Wonderful Boy,

Where are you to night? Your letter came only an hour ago—cruel hour—I had hoped you would spend it with me here.

Paris is a morgue without you : before I knew you, it was Paris, and I thought it heaven; but now it is a vast desert of desolation and loneliness. It is like the face of a clock bereft of its hands.

All the pictures that hung in my memory before I knew you have faded and given place to our radiant moments together.

Now I cannot live apart from you—your words, even though bitter—dispel all the cares of the world and make me happy, my art has been suckled by them and softly rocked in their tender cradle ; they are as necessary to me now as sunlight and air.

I am as hungry for them as for food, I am thirsty for them, and my thirst is overwhelming. Your words are my food, your breath my wine. You are everything to me.

Yours Sarah "

Eve Curie writing about her father's letters to her mother declared " Would it not be a splendid title to fame to have inspired such letters?" Curie's life and work together stand forth as a unique instance of collaboration between two allied spirits in which the survivor carried the work of the partner at the precise point where he left off. The platonic love affair between Bernard Shaw and Euen Terry is narrated in their romantic correspondence of twenty-five years. The letters were never intended to be published and all are not published. In these letters we do not find the at times trying propagandist and self-parading Shaw of the plays and prefaces ; they reveal him as a tender compassionate, and companionable Shaw, the human in him coming to the surface and the doctrinaire subdued. Still the familiar Shaw cannot be subdued too long as is illustrated by the following witticism in one of these letters. " Remember that only on paper has humanity yet achieved glory, beauty, truth, knowledge, virtue and abiding love."

To be continued

PANCHAYAT RAJ IN U.P.

III

FUNCTIONS AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL

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Chapter IV of the Panchayat Raj Act lays down the functions which a Gaon Sabha is to carry out. These functions are divided into two groups—those which are, seemingly at least, compulsory and those which may be taken up at its discretion. Actually even the so-called compulsory functions are to be performed “so far as its funds may allow.”¹ The compulsory functions are delineated, item by item, in Section 15 and the optional functions in Section 16 of the Act. In the former list are twenty items and in the latter eighteen. Among the compulsory functions are included the care of public streets, medical relief and sanitation, registration of births and deaths, regulation of markets and *hats*, providing primary education, water supply, promotion of agriculture and industry, the administration of civil and criminal justice, maternity and child welfare and the maintenance of records regarding cattle census, population census and other statistics. The optional list again includes such items as planting and maintaining trees, organising a village voluntary force, developing co-operation among different communities, establishing co-operative organisations and establishing and maintaining libraries, clubs and recreation centres.

As regards the administration of civil and criminal justice, that function is not to be carried out directly either by the Panchayats or the Gaon Sabhas. That has been assigned to the Panchayati Adalats which have close relationship to the Panchayats and the Gaon Sabhas but which are all the same separate institutions so far as the actual work of administering justice is concerned. On that account this subject will be considered separately. As regards control of public streets, sanitation, medical relief and primary education, detailed provisions have been made in Sections 17, 18, 19 and 20. Further in Sections 21, 22 and 23 a Gaon Panchayat has been empowered to assist a Government servant in the discharge of his duties in the

¹ Section 15

area within its jurisdiction, to make representation to the Government concerning the welfare of the local people, and to make after due enquiry a complaint to requisite authority regarding the misconduct of certain petty officials of the Government. Under Section 24 again the Gaon Panchayat has been empowered to enter into a contract either with the Government or with any landed proprietor for the collection of taxes and other dues.

It will be noticed in the previous two paragraphs that there is no reference there to the appointment and maintenance of village chowkidars. In the optional list (item No. d) there is reference, of course, to the organisation of a village voluntary force for watch and ward and other purposes. It is also a fact that Gaon Panchayats have been encouraged to set up a committee for village protection. But so far no definite steps have been taken towards the organisation of a village force. It should be remembered in this connection that the Provincial Government is setting up a provincial organisation called the Prantik Rakhsadal. If a village force is now raised, the question of co-ordinating its activities with those of the provincial body would arise. And so long as this question is not settled by the Government, the Gaon Panchayats cannot move in the direction of organising a village force.

Even if a voluntary body is set up within the jurisdiction of each Gaon Sabha, that may not solve the problems of village watch and ward. A voluntary organisation is one thing and a regular organisation of village police is another. In Bengal villages watch and ward is a primary duty of the Union Board and the maintenance of the chowkidars is the first charge upon its income. It is true that because of this fact the Union Boards find it difficult to pay attention to their municipal functions, *e.g.*, road-making and public health. The major portion of their income is eaten up in maintaining the chowkidars and little is left for nation-building purposes. While this is true, there is also no gainsaying the fact that the organisation of village watch and ward and the maintenance of the chowkidars to that end are the local responsibility of the village bodies. There is, no doubt, control exercised in this regard by the police officers of the thana and the executive officers of the district. But still the fact remains that the responsibility for village protection against thieves, robbers and other miscreants is primarily that of the Union Boards. Village watch and ward is still not a very efficient organisation in Bengal. The dual control under which the chowkidars and dafadars have to work places them not unoften in a false position and under-

mines their efficiency. But the Chowkidary Enquiry Committee which was appointed in 1938 and which submitted its report in 1940 did not recommend any change in the principle that village watch and ward should remain the primary responsibility of the village bodies. It recommended that "the idea of substituting a subordinate constabulary should be abandoned."² In other words, neither the chowkidars nor a police force which may be set up in substitution for them should be placed directly under the Government. That would be a retrograde arrangement and would interfere with the proper detection of crime.

In U.P., however, in every village there are chowkidars for watch and ward purposes. "Their appointment, dismissal and punishment is controlled by the Magistrate of the district."³ The Gaon Sabha and the Gaon Panchayat have no control over them. They have been, of course, encouraged to take a small allowance from the Gaon Panchayat and undertake on that account some work on behalf of these bodies in addition to their own regular duties. But that should not take away from the fact that they are primarily watch and ward men outside the jurisdiction of the Gaon Panchayat. The question now is whether this arrangement has not to be altered and the organisation of watch and ward and maintenance of chowkidars should not be made a compulsory responsibility of the Gaon Sabhas. There is, no doubt, the question of finance. This, however, may be met if the Government makes a subvention for the purpose. The important fact is that without village watch and ward being made a village responsibility, crime cannot be detected and offenders brought to book. So some definite step should be taken without delay in this direction and the relevant Acts amended to that end. The withdrawal of the British Raj and the substitution of the people's sovereignty appear to be giving encouragement to lawless elements in many districts. It would be difficult to put down this tendency without active local co-operation. Such co-operation may be enlisted only by entrusting the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the villages to the village bodies.

Among the other compulsory and optional functions only a few could be taken up by the Gaon Sabbas in the initial stage of their working. The Panchayats are new bodies without much experience. Consequently it was thought wise to limit their activities for the time

² Report, p. 35

³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

being only to few functions. There was again the question of finance. The proceeds of the taxes levied would only slowly be available and for the time being the only money at the disposal of these bodies was what was given by the Government. In view of this the Panchayat Raj Department decided that for sometime to come the Gaon Panchayats should give priority to education, sanitation, roads, tree plantation and the building of Panchayat huts. In fact, the first duty of the Gaon Panchayats was according to the instruction of the Government to build a Panchayat *Ghar* in each Gaon Sabha and this *Ghar* was to include a reading room, a library and a small stock of medicines for ordinary use. In some of the Gaon Sabhas no expense had to be incurred in building such a *Ghar* (hut). It came as a gift from some charitably disposed person of means. Here and there the President of the Gaon Sabha has handed over to it a house of his own for the purpose.

The Government has rightly given first priority to the establishment of a Panchayat *Ghar*. Such a building with a reading room attached to it will gradually become the centre of village life and bring considerable cohesion in village organisation. In Bengal few Union Boards have a building of their own for office and meeting purposes. When a particular person becomes the President, the office is shifted to a room in his house. So no community centre could develop in the Union even after thirty years of the working of the Union Boards. But in a U.P. Gaon Sabha the Panchayat *Ghar* is likely to be the meeting ground of many people and may awaken their social consciousness. As regards other functions, we have seen above that while stress has been put on sanitation, for the time being there is no emphasis on medical relief except that there should be a stock of some medicines in the Panchayat *Ghar* for ordinary use. This does not mean that the Panchayats will in the future also devote their attention only to preventive work and take no part in curative activities in respect of public health. Unfortunately in a news item published in October last^{*} we are informed that two hundred and forty-two indigenous dispensaries in the rural areas of U. P. had about that time been provincialised. They would be thenceforward managed by the Provincial Government on its own account. The tendency is in other words towards provincialising medical relief and leaving no responsibility in this regard in the hands of the local bodies. This may, of course, facilitate better equipment

* See Lucknow Edition of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 7.10.49.

of the rural dispensaries and add to their efficiency. But there is a limit to the activities of the Government in this field. Its efforts would not reach all the rural areas. Meanwhile its resources would be exhausted in maintaining the increased number of dispensaries it has taken up or will take up in its own hands in the near future. Consequently, so far as the areas, not catered to by these Government dispensaries, are concerned, they will have to depend upon the small resources of the Gaon Panchayats alone. It is to be seen whether instead of following this policy of provincialising a number of rural dispensaries, it would have been better to stick to grant-in-aid system and encourage Gaon Panchayats to set up and maintain dispensaries through grant-in-aid on a fifty-fifty basis.

The Gaon Sabhas, we have pointed out already, were set up on the initiative of those leaders who had faith in the people of the villages. The neglect of centuries has to be made good in as short a time as possible. Almost every thing in the villages requires attention. Agricultural lands have to be improved, village industries have to be stimulated, market and melas have to be properly regulated, waterways have to be deepened and improved, old roads have to be repaired and widened, new roads have to be opened, common grazing grounds have to be provided, protection against fire as also against thieves and miscreants has to be organised, maternity and child welfare have to be looked after, proper water supply has to be ensured and sundry other things have to be done. In regard to some of them the Gaon Panchayats have only to supplement the efforts of the Government, *e.g.*, in primary education and water supply. In some other matters all the burden is on their shoulders. Now if all these different things are to be done through money-expenditure, little is likely to be accomplished. The Gaon Sabhas consist of all adults in the area and the President and the Panches are their representatives. They are expected to rouse the community spirit in the villages and have many things done more for love than for money. Without harnessing active voluntary assistance, the work of uplift which is ahead of us cannot be accomplished. The success or otherwise of a President and his Panchayat would depend upon how far they have enlisted voluntary assistance.

The income of the Gaon Sabhas is under Section 32 of the Act to be derived from several sources. The first and the most important source is, of course, the tax levied by the Gaon Sabha. The other sources are Government contributions, contributions from the District Board, "sale proceeds of all dust, dirt, dung or refuse including the

dead bodies of animals," gift from individuals and organisations, and commission received for collecting rent on behalf of the Government or any private proprietor. Taxes to be imposed are naturally many. Some of them may be recommended to the Union Boards in Bengal. For instance a tax not exceeding one anna in the rupee may be levied upon the rent payable by the tenant and simultaneously a tax not exceeding six pies in the rupee may be imposed upon the rent received by any proprietor; the tax in the latter case being payable by the proprietor. Another important source is tax on trade, calling and profession. For instance merchants, sugar refiners, owners of vehicles for hire are to take out a licence on payment of a fee. In addition to that if their income exceeds Rs. 500 a year, they may be required to pay taxes at varying rates according as the income is large or small. These different sources of income appear considerable on paper, actually it is not likely that any of the Gaon Sabhas will be very well off. It is estimated that at the lowest a Sabha will have an annual income of Rs. 350 and at the highest Rs. 2,000. This is an income which would pass as very small at all times. At the present time with the value of the rupee being what it is, this small income may really pass as insignificant. In view of this the only hope, as indicated already, lies in the enlistment of honorary voluntary assistance.

The intention of the Government was no doubt to install panchayat raj in the villages and authorise the people there to manage their local affairs in their own way. But this autonomy could not by the nature of things be absolute and unqualified. In no country can the principle of home rule for local authorities be carried to its logical extent and in U. P. also some control either of the Provincial Government or of an authority prescribed by it has been provided for in the Act. A chapter on external control (chapter VII) has been included in the Act but provisions for such external control are not limited to the Sections of this chapter. They are interspersed throughout the statute and in the nature of things had to be so.

Under Section 3 it is not only for the Provincial Government to establish by notification a Gaon Sabha but it may from time to time include in it new areas or exclude from it areas which were previously included in it. Under Section 5 when a person is disqualified for membership of a Gaon Sabha for certain assigned reasons, his disqualification on certain grounds may be removed either by the Provincial Government or any authority prescribed by it, the prescribed authority being in this case the Subdivisional Magistrate.

Under Section 9 it is for the prescribed authority to prepare and have annually revised a register of adults in a Gaon Sabha. Here also this authority has been conferred by the Provincial Government upon the Subdivisional Magistrate. In case again any difficulty or dispute arises regarding the interpretation of any provision of the Act or the rules made thereunder, the decision of the Provincial Government shall be final. There is no appeal to a civil court in this regard. Under Section 12(4) it is the duty of an authority prescribed by the Provincial Government to divide a Gaon Sabha into as many constituencies as that authority may think convenient for the purpose. The prescribed authority is the Subdivisional Magistrate.

Under Section 16(d) a Gaon Panchayat may organise a village voluntary force. But it may undertake this duty only according to rules framed by the Government. Under Section 17(e) a Gaon Panchayat may undertake small irrigation works but only with the sanction of prescribed authority, this authority being the District Panchayat Officer. Under Section 19 the Provincial Government and the District Board may make grants to a Gaon Sabha for schools, hospitals and dispensaries but only according to rules to be conformed to. Under Section 20 again two or more Gaon Sabhas may combine under the direction of the prescribed authority for maintaining a school, a hospital or a dispensary. The prescribed authority is the District Panchayat Officer. In a previous article we have discussed already the procedure followed in making the appointment of the Secretary. In regard to other staff, whole-time or part-time, which a Gaon Sabha may require, the Gaon Panchayat is to make a proposal detailing there the salaries and allowances to be paid to and the duties to be performed by this staff to the prescribed authority, the District Panchayat Officer being this prescribed authority. He may approve, modify or reject the proposal. If any member of the Gaon Panchayat, a committee or joint committee is responsible for the loss, waste or misapplication of any money or property of the Panchayat, it may institute a suit against him with the previous sanction of the prescribed authority, this authority being the District Panchayat Officer. The Provincial Government also on its own initiative may institute such a suit.

A Gaon Panchayat may borrow money from the Government but only with the sanction of the prescribed authority, this authority being the President of the District Board. Taxes which a Gaon Sabha is to levy are to be so levied according to rules and orders made by the Provincial Government (Section 37). The accounts of

every Sabha are to be audited every year according to rules prescribed by the Government. Under Section 41(3) the budget adopted by a Gaon Sabha has to be approved by the prescribed authority, this authority being the Inspector. Under Section 96 when any resolution has been adopted by a Gaon Sabha, a Gaon Panchayat or a Committee thereof for any work to be undertaken, the prescribed authority may nullify the resolution and prohibit the execution of the work contemplated in the resolution. The District Panchayat Officer is the authority in this regard. Under Section 95 the Provincial Government may cause to be inspected any immovable property owned or occupied by a Gaon Sabha and books and documents in the possession of a Gaon Panchayat or a joint committee. It may further require a Gaon Panchayat to furnish such statements, reports and copies of documents it may think fit. The rules and by-laws, consistent with the provisions of the Panchayat Raj Act, may be framed by the Provincial Government, a prescribed authority (the Executive Committee of the District Board) and by the Gaon Panchayat with the sanction of the prescribed authority which is also in this case the Executive Committee of the District Board.

We have detailed above the different items of control exercised either by the Provincial Government or its officers over the activities of the Gaon Sabhas. We have also referred to the different functionaries who are entrusted with the exercise of this control. In this regard there appears to be some room for better organisation. For some items of work the control is exercised by the Subdivisional Magistrate, for another group of functions by the District Panchayat Officer, for a third group by the Inspector and in respect of still other functions by the Executive Committee of the District Board. We do not see why the Subdivisional Magistrate who is not in U.P. an officer resident in the Subdivision but who has to pass his days at the district headquarters should be in any way concerned with the work of the Gaon Sabhas. In regard to the work of the Panchayati Adalats, he may exercise some jurisdiction but otherwise he should not have anything to do with the activities of these village institutions. The case against his interference becomes particularly strong by the fact that separate District Panchayat Officers have now been appointed. Experienced Deputy Collectors have been posted in each district in this capacity. Even today many of them have, of course, other duties. But it is expected that in the near future they would work whole time as Panchayat Raj Officers. In view of that the work would be better done if it is concentrated in their

hands. It may also be arranged that in the first instance all matters regarding the administration of the Gaon Sabhas which are to be referred to the Government should be referred to the Inspectors, and the District Panchayat Raj Officers should have either appellate authority over these Inspectors or should otherwise exercise supervision and control over them. The machinery will that way be more simplified.

So there should be three links in the chain of Government control over the Gaon Sabhas. The first link is supplied by Panchayat Raj Directorate at Lucknow, the second by the District Panchayat Officers and the third by the Inspectors. At present the Director, Panchayat Raj Department, corresponds with the District Magistrate who passes on the instruction to the District Panchayat Raj Officer or to the Subdivisional Magistrate. This system is not only cumbrous but otherwise unscientific. It makes for delay, does not allow proper fixing of responsibility and undermines efficiency. The days when the District Magistrate was the *ma bap* of the people and had to look after the administration of all departments in the area within his jurisdiction are gone. As far as possible each department of the Government should have now its own agents in the districts and its subdivisions. So the Director should send his instructions to the District Panchayat Officers and from them the Inspectors would take orders and instructions. By making some such arrangement the Government would create an opportunity for officers to specialise in this branch of activity. At present the District Panchayat Officers have no specialised training. Recruited from among Deputy Collectors they are, of course, men of good education and have general administrative training and experience. But batch by batch those deputed to do this work should also undergo an intensive specialised training for not less than three months. To that end either an Institute on the lines of Co-operative Institutes may be set up or one or more Universities may be called upon to undertake this work.

The Inspectors are the pivot of the Panchayat Raj. It was good that the Government understood the significance of their position and took some care in choosing and training them. Five hundred of them have been appointed and are now at work. The task of choosing them was entrusted to the Provincial Public Service Commission. In order that political sufferers also might have a chance of being appointed, educational qualifications required for choice were lowered. Some of the appointees are actually non-matriculantes.

But most are graduates and some have obtained even the Master's degree. A small proportion was recruited from among those who had passed through the Social Service Training Centre maintained at Faizabad by the Department of Education. But irrespective of this training all those who were appointed Inspectors had, before they were posted, to go through the Training Camp which was set up in the University of Lucknow. There they were given both theoretical and practical training. Apart from lectures which might have been better organised, they were given two dozen pamphlets to read and digest. They contained information regarding the Panchayat Raj organisation, public health, agriculture, adult education, animal husbandry, co-operation, Prantiya Rakshadal and similar other subjects. In the future if an Institute, as suggested above, is set up, the recruits may be sent there for some systematic training. Possibly experienced Inspectors also may now and again be sent there to undertake a refresher course.

We have emphasised above that it depends considerably upon the Inspectors whether the experiment of Panchayat Raj will be successful. They are not only to exercise control in specific matters on behalf of the Government and the District Panchayat Officers but they are to be the friend, philosopher and guide of the Gaon Panchayats and their Presidents. In view of this their number may have to be increased. Their total number in the whole province is now five hundred and two of them are allotted to each tahsil, each having to inspect about seventy Gaon Sabhas. They reside either at the tahsil headquarters or in some place within their actual jurisdiction. It should be remembered in this connection that in addition to the control which they are to exercise in respect of individual items as referred to them for approval, they have to visit every Gaon Sabha at least once a year and audit its accounts. If the Inspectors are really to be helpful, this visit should last at least three or four days so that accounts may be audited and advice and encouragement may be suitably tendered. This visit should also be more frequent than once a year. Inspectors are on a grade of Rs. 120—200. The addition of a few hundred more Inspectors would not consequently entail a considerable expenditure. If we take into consideration the fact that they would be discharging a basic responsibility and would help in the proper foundation of democratic government in this country, this extra expenditure should not be grudged.

Round the World

Bengal and Bengalee Race.

Sreejut Ramaswami Mudaliar in delivering the Convocation address at the Jadavpur College of Engineering has made some pertinent observations about the people of this province—observations which all of us should bear in mind in all our activities.

"It is difficult for me or for any Indian of my generation to think of Bengal and of the Bengalee race without the deepest emotion. We were nurtured in many fields of activity on the ideas which illustrious sons of Bengal put before us. The main inspiration of much of the activities of my generation in the political, religious or aesthetic field came from Bengal . . . The name of Swami Vivekananda has only to be uttered to evoke feelings of the greatest devotion among millions of Indians all over the country . . . That band of stout and devoted patriots—Surendranath Banerjee, Rashbehary Ghose, Matilal Ghose, Ananda Mohan Bose, Lal Mohan Ghose—pioneers in political agitation against a formidable bureaucracy—what a powerful influence they were in shaping the politics of the day, in unsettling settled facts, in making the most autocratic of governments bend before the storm. They were the main master minds in creating that large intellectual army of politicians, who, later under the even more inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, stirred the mind of the masses and led the country to independence. Need I refer to the part played by Bengal and the Bengalees in aesthetics and point out how the Tagores and the Bengal school of arts have done so much to place India on the aesthetic map?"

"Will you forgive me if I ask you: 'Where is that Bengal today from which came all the forces making for the progress not of the province but of the whole continent of India?' Years ago it was often said: 'What Bengal thinks today, the rest of India will think tomorrow.' For one who was, as I have said, nurtured on these ideas and traditions, it comes as a shock to see Bengal described as a 'problem province' and Calcutta as a 'problem city.'"

There is no gainsaying the fact that the Bengalees have fallen a good deal from the traditions to which S. J. Mudaliar has feelingly referred. Causes for this resiling from the old glorious traditions may be one or many, justifiable or otherwise. That is not the most important point. What is tragically important is that we have not yet developed the will to make good the defects in our ways of life which have today made us the target as much of indignation as of ridicule and contempt in this country.

The sooner we develop that will, the better for ourselves as for the country as a whole. The sixteen years of the Montagu-Chelmsford regime we frittered away in fruitless agitation. During that period other provinces utilised the reforms in making constructive progress and strengthening the people in education, public health and other important fields. During the same period we remained engaged either in inept agitation or in terroristic activities. The result was that not only the province drifted in matters of education and public health which are the foundations of all progress but what is more the established government of the day gave, out of spite against us, all encouragement to communalist and fissiparous forces which gradually gained ascendancy and when Provincial Autonomy came under the Act of 1935 the separatists and communalists alone profited by it. It seems we have not yet learnt any lesson. Independence has dawned on the country. It is time to put shoulders to the wheel. Instead we appear to be determined to continue the destructive activities to which we have become inured. Such activities in the past have resulted in the division of the province and their continuance at the present will only eliminate us from the map of India. It is strange that we do not see light yet.

White terrorism in excelsis in South Africa

We make no apology in inserting the following from the *New Statesman and Nation*:

"Nothing could better reveal the mood of Dr. Malan's supporters than the resolutions which were put down for the Nationalist Party congress in the Transvaal last month. They rant and rave against every one who dares to protest against unfettered white supremacy or tries to make life a little more tolerable for the wretched Africans. Is there a feeding scheme for coloured children? Abolish it. Are Africans paid too much? Cut their wages. Ban their meetings. Submit them to a curfew. Bar them from all public service, from treatment by White doctors, even from owning dogs. What of the Indian minority? Why, harry that too, repatriate it, deny it all rice save that imported direct from India, drive it into special reservations. As for trouble-makers, such as the Rev. Michael Scott, deport them, imprison them, ban their organisations. These themes run through most of the five hundred resolutions. It would be bad enough if the Nationalists were only a virulent minority. But they intend to do these things and nobody seems capable of stopping them. The apartheid or segregation policy is already applied vigorously and there is worse to come. Every week now brings me moving letters from South Africa, describing fresh examples of beastliness. The latest is from the Rand Daily Mail, where a correspondent describes watching a party of white youths throwing stones at coloured children on their way to school."

Conferences in Christmas Week

Eastern coast was humming with activities in Christmas week. Cuttack was the meeting ground of Indian historians. They met under the auspices of Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress. The first is an official body which was set up by the Government of India in 1919 and worked during the last ten years under the leadership of a historical scholar who headed for years the Department of History of this University. During this period the scientific study of official records which are the raw materials of modern Indian History has expanded considerably. As a result of the achievement of political independence most documents of the 19th century which were not open before to inspection and study by scholars are available to them for such study and appraisal. This is a great opportunity for historians, young and old. It is hoped that they will now dig deep in the quarry to which they have got access. Many corners which have hitherto remained dark may now be brought under light. The relations of the Government of India with the states may now yield to scientific scrutiny. Similarly many of the documents throwing light on constitutional history may also now come in for examination.

The Indian History Congress was started sixteen years later in 1935 and has since then met from year to year in different University and historical centres. Many eminent historians have presided over its annual sessions. Like the Science Congress it meets in sections under sectional presidents who guide the deliberations on historical materials and their interpretation of different periods of Indian history. The subject is vast and can only be studied in compartments. It is not inappropriate on this account that different sections under their own presidents are organised.

Indian Political Science Association which was constituted slightly later than Indian History Congress met at Madras at its annual Conference in the same week. While the historians discuss India's past records, the scholars in political science are busy with present day problems without, however, neglecting the ideals and achievements of the past. Much of the ground is on this account common. In spite of it, however, there is need for students of political science to meet separately and exchange ideas regarding their reaction to problems of today. Too much of stress had to be put so long for obvious reasons on constitutional questions. Now that this subject has been settled for years to come by the Constituent Assembly, it is hoped that in the future administrative, sociological and international issues will have their rightful place in the agenda of the Conference.

The Indian Economic Conference was also held in Christmas week in another University town on the same coast, namely Waltair. For years past this Conference was regarded as only next in importance to the Indian Science Congress. But possibly because of every economist having his

own views on crucial questions of the day and because of the failure of all to suggest proper solutions of these questions, their collective importance is not today appraised greater than that of other Conferences. But nobody will deny that the Conference provides an excellent meeting ground for economists of different provinces to exchange their ideas.

Alternative to Communism

Sometime ago the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liakat Ali Khan, observed in course of a speech at Kohat that Islam was an excellent alternative to communism. Islam prescribes a way of life in which millions have faith and this way of life, though different from communism, should appeal to those less fortunate members of the society who are now-a-days attracted by the equalising tenets of the latter.

It is, of course, not true to say that all Muslims have such faith in their religion as not to become converts to communism. But it is a fact that the hold of religion being stronger among them communism makes comparatively little headway so far as they are concerned. Even in the Soviet Union concessions have been made to Muslims—concessions which are not enjoyed by people affiliated to the christian churches. That shows that even in the cradle-land of communism Muslim population maintains its identity and way of life to a great extent.

But while hold of religion is an important antidote to the spread of totalitarian communism among the children of Islam, it should be remembered that inspite of Liakat Ali Khan it is no antidote to the excesses of capitalism with its social differences. And once such excesses of capitalism spread as they are spreading in Pakistan, they will bring in their train the influence of communism as well. Days are gone when the have-nots will be easily reconciled to the existence by their side of the abnormally rich. There was a time when the Amirs were taken as a natural adjunct of the society which, however, consisted mostly of poor men. But today it is in the nature of things that the poor are jealous of the rich and inevitably develop an antipathy towards them.

In view of this if Islam can curb the modern craze of making money any how and by any means and keep under check the ambition of the producers and distributors of commodities, it may indirectly check communism as well. Otherwise in a sharply bifurcated society mutual jealousy between the haves and the have-nots will inevitably bring in a condition of things which may not be called communism because of its not being divorced from religion altogether but which will be akin to it. So mere hold of religion on the common people will not halt communism. It will certainly be halted if the true tenets of religion which are to be found as much in Islam as in Hinduism and Christianity are observed not only by the common people but equally by those who wield the instruments of production and distribution. In France, Italy and some other countries attempts

have been made to check the spread of communism by emphasising the principles of christianity and by attempts to inculcate them more and more in the labouring population. We cannot say that attempts have very much succeeded yet. They will, however, not be abortive if the observance of the same tenets by all groups of people brings in a greater equality between class and class.

India is a land of religion. Outwardly religion appears to have a far greater hold here than anywhere else in the world. But it does not seem it has had any effect on that increasing number of men and women who are drifting today towards the communist way of life. This is because while most people are punctilious in conforming to the outer demands of religion, few are being influenced by its basic principles. None in India rear temples and build dharamshalas more than the industrialists, bankers and general merchants. But most of them appear to think that they have done their duty to religion by establishing new temples or repairing old ones. Common ethical principles enjoined by their religion are, however, thrown to the wind as soon as there is any necessity for it. So hold of religion is only loose. Hold of true religious principles on those in whose hands lies the destiny of the society can alone be an antidote to communism and halt it once for all.

Islamic Economic Conference in Karachi

In December last was held at Karachi a conference in which participated representatives of different Islamic countries. It discussed economic problems of these states. The original idea was to invite the delegates of these countries to a conference which would discuss the possibilities of an Islamic federation. It should be remembered in this connection that the promoters of the separate state of Pakistan were largely influenced by the idea of Pan-Islamism. Islamic brotherhood was to them an ideal to be realised. In their view Islam could become a force in the world if only the different Islamic states were brought together on a common political platform and persuaded to act under one leadership and command. To this end Mr. Khalikuzzaman of the Pakistan Muslim League undertook a tour in Middle Eastern countries. His object was to bring about some kind of a political unity among Islamic states ranging from the Western Punjab to Morocco. He sounded political circles in Iran, Iraq, Egypt and other countries. He was, however, confronted by heavy odds against his proposal. In the first place there was a feeling of nationalism in some of the states—nationalism which not unoften begets mutual jealousies and rivalries. Secondly, there was the emphasis on the distinction between the Arab and non-Arab Muslims. As a result of this emphasis Pan-Arab movement was stronger than the Pan-Islamic one. Thirdly, there was the feeling in countries like Egypt that Pan-Islamic federation as suggested by the Pakistanis was a retrograde

idea. If there was to be a political entente between Eastern countries for the safeguarding of their interests against the ambitions of the Western Powers it should cover India as well. So the proposal for a Pan-Islamic political conference had to be abandoned and a less ambitious proposal had to be mooted. So this economic conference consisting of delegates only of Islamic countries was organised and held. But this is only to be regarded as a stepping-stone. Although economic problems were mainly considered in the conference, it provided a platform for the representatives of different Islamic countries to know each other and exchange ideas and thoughts. Such exchange of ideas may gradually iron out differences, forge a common outlook and bring about political unity. Pan-Islamism was a danger to India before. With the partition of the country it has not ceased to be a danger. On the contrary with our relations with Pakistan as they are, the growth of Pan-Islamic federation in any shape or form is a factor to be reckoned with in this country.

Elections in Newzealand and Australia

General elections in Newzealand and Australia which were held in December last have gone against the Labour Governments of those two Dominions. In the former country in a house of eighty the Labourites have secured only thirty-five seats and in the Australian House of Representatives they have obtained forty-four out of 119. Labour Governments have in consequence resigned. In Australia Mr. Chifley has given place to Mr. Menzies as Prime Minister, who would now head a coalition Cabinet consisting of representatives of the Liberal and Country Parties. Whatever their names may imply, both groups which have now combined are anti-socialist and may on that account be called conservative. The Country Party puts some emphasis on the interests of the small agriculturalists. Apart from that there is not much of a difference between the platforms of the two groups.

One of the main reasons for the ousting of Labour is of course the inevitable swing of the political pendulum from the left to the right. Labour had been in office for a long period (in Australia for eight years). It was but in the nature of things that opposition against it should now accumulate sufficient strength. Labour Government again means more government which after a while people dislike. As one item after another comes under Government control, people are left lesser initiative and smaller area to move about in their own way. This makes them inclined to a Government which would leave to them wider space for themselves. The question is not whether Government control or private initiative is better. The fact is that too much of exercise of Government control makes people breathless and they thirst for an alternative arrangement under which there would be more room for individual liberty and private initiative.

In Australia there were particular minor grounds as well for the Labour Party to lose support. On the eve of the election some serious charges were brought against the Labour Prime Minister in respect of high interest he had charged for money he had lent to others. Mr. Chifley replied to these charges in a manner which might be otherwise satisfactory but for election purposes it was not so. Secondly, the way the White Australia policy was enforced by the Labour Government was regarded by a large section of the people as too stringent and in some cases inhuman. A regimented Government is not influenced by humane principles but the general body of Australians, though imbued with ideas of White supremacy, is still open to such influences. In view of this it was but natural that the policy pursued during the last two years by the Labour Government in respect of non-white immigration to and settlement in Australia has alienated a considerable section of opinion.

The dismissal of Labour Governments in the two Dominions and the sorry part played by the Canadian C. C. F. sometime ago seem to suggest that in the Commonwealth (at least in the white parts of it) the tendency is towards the right. It is yet too early to say whether what has taken place in Australia and New Zealand will take place in Britain as well. But if a landslide happens in Britain against Labour in the coming general election, nobody should be surprised. So far of course except for local elections there is no indication that Labour is losing much the support of the electorate. But inclination towards the right is certainly noticeable. The policy which the Soviet Union has pursued so far has helped in stimulating opinion on the right particularly in Britain and the Dominions. A more conciliating attitude on its part would have possibly made conservatives less influential.

Indonesia

On the 27th of December last there was the formal transfer of power in Indonesia from Dutch authorities to the Government of Dr. Soekarno. The Dutch Queen herself transferred this power to Dr. Hatta who had travelled to this end to Holland. Sometime before that an agreement had been arrived at in a Round Table Conference at the Hague between the representatives of the Indonesian people and those of the Dutch Government and this agreement was ratified both by the Dutch Parliament and the Indonesian authorities. Thereafter a bill was introduced providing for transfer of power in the Dutch Parliament both houses of which passed it in time.

Thus have ended nearly three hundred and fifty years of Dutch rule in Indonesia and four years of post-war struggle between the Indonesian patriots and the Dutch Government. It is true that connection with the Netherlands does not cease altogether as a result of the Act which has been passed by the Dutch Parliament and which embodies the spirit

of the agreement to which reference has been made above. Indonesia still remains an integral part of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. But subject to that which does not imply any real external control, Indonesia is now launched on a career of independence. In other words seventy million people living in different islands who were for three hundred fifty years under the control of a foreign white power will now be the architects of their destiny.

For this thanks are due first to the Japanese. In 1942 they put an end to Dutch rule in Indonesia as they did away with it in Burma and Malaya. We do not care to discuss as to what would have been the fate of the Indonesians if the Japanese were not defeated in 1945 by the use of the atom bomb. The important fact is that without Japanese help the Dutch octopus would not have been removed even temporarily and the nationalist forces would not have the opportunity of organisation which they received at the time of the Japanese withdrawal. So at this hour of transfer of power this great contribution of the Japanese people though made without any conscious desire on their part should not be forgotten.

Secondly, thanks are due to the leaders of the Indonesian people who showed great will-power and determination during the last few years. Dr. Soekarno and his colleagues rose full height to the occasion and proved themselves not only to be great patriots but to be skilful and determined statesmen. Thirdly, thanks are due to Pandit Nehru who has been an unflinching believer in the destiny of Asian nations and gave all the moral support he was capable of to the Indonesian people and their great leaders at all important moments. His calling of a Conference at New Delhi at an hour which was gloomy for the Indonesian patriots gave a new direction to the world in respect of this problem. Lastly, thanks are due to Soviet Communism. If it was not in an aggressive mood and if on its behalf there was no communist terrorism in South East Asia it is unlikely that Britain and more so the U. S. A. would have taken the amount of interest they did take in Indonesian question and allowed the U. N. O. to do what it did in bringing about a rapprochement between the Dutch and the Indonesians.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Saints and Sages in India—By Prof. Pritam Singh, M.A., New Book Society of India, New Delhi. 1948. Price Rs. 3-12-0, pp. 152.

This presentable volume, on the subject indicated by the title, with a foreword from the eminent public man Sir Gokul Chand Narang who extols it, has placed before the reader a birds-eye view of the achievements of various saints and sages in India throughout the ages. It has been historically divided into three parts—the ancient period, the mediaeval period and the modern period, followed by a chapter on the mystic saints of India and sundry attempts at reform in Hinduism. Five appendices follow.

The volume has thus sufficient reading matter in it, and it would be just the thing needed for our schools. But the reader asks, why are there no vedic Rishis under the ancient period? Yajnavalkya and Vasistha might have fittingly come in here for honourable mention. Nor is there any reference to the Buddha and Mahabira. Dhruva, Prahlad and Ajamil—Pauranic characters ennobled for their devotion—cannot by themselves satisfy our needs, what we want from the ancient period. In the mediaeval period the treatment has not been chronological, just as for example, we get Ballabhacharyya after Tulsidas, and Farid and Madhavacharyya too. In the modern period, coming to the Brahmo sages one misses Rajnarayan Bose in the company of those illustrious sons of Mother India who have been named in this connection. On page 99, the Dakshineswar temple is thus described, "four miles from Calcutta there is a temple of Kali known as Dakshineswar where he became a priest." To what does the name Dakshineswar refer, one wonders.

The apposite excerpts from the Srimadbhagavat and from Shakespeare Napoleon and Gandhi which preface the book enhance its value.

P. R. SEN.

The Russian Resolution—By M. N. Roy (First Edition April, 1949). Published by Renaissance Publishers, 15, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta 12.

Roy, who was once an ardent supporter of Soviet Russia, is now one of its uncompromising opponents. "The Russian Revolution" reveals the course of mental evolution underlying this striking change of attitudes.

The story of this mental evolution may begin with a reference to the historic controversy between Stalin and Trotsky. In that controversy, Roy was a convinced opponent of the latter. His support for "socialism in one country" was however, never conceived in a nationalist spirit. He firmly

believed that so long as the socialist revolution remained confined to a minor part of the world, it was necessarily incomplete, and that it was the historic obligation of Soviet Russia to assist in spreading the revolution beyond her boundaries. He defended Stalin's policy of "socialism in one country" only because he thought that under the prevailing circumstances it showed the only practical way of consolidating socialist forces in Russia and of preparing that country for playing effectively the role of "Red Napoleonism whenever an opportunity came. Having supported Stalin in this spirit, Roy watched with unflagging interest the unfolding of the European drama and the part played in it by Stalin's Russia.

Prior to World War II, the major turns of Russian policy conformed to Roy's expectations and received his approval, while minor shocks were ignored. In the early pages of the book under review we find him writing not long before the war, that the Russian revolution "has been as successful as it is possible to be under the given world conditions; and the success until now has been so great that it can be characterised as the most brilliant monument to the creative genius of man in the realm of material progress".

But the war brought with it disquieting developments. The Russo-German non-aggression pact brought criticism against Soviet Russia from many progressive quarters and dealt a blow to her moral prestige. Roy brought himself to defend this pact as a measure required by expediency, but, at the same time, hoped that the quickest opportunity will be taken to repudiate it. In 1940, the spectacle of Russia standing inactive while Germany overran France disturbed him highly and prepared his mind for a change of attitude. Had Russia declared war against Germany at that crucial hour in European history, she might have been accepted at once as the liberator and natural leader of Europe in the anti-Fascist struggle. Why did she allow this opportunity to slip? And why did the Communist parties in different countries acting at the direction of Russia, condemn the war as an "imperialist war" and fail to rise in defence of European civilisation against Nazi aggression? These were disturbing questions.

The end of the war, and events after that brought new doubts reinforcing earlier ones. When the war ended, Russian prestige was sky light at the same time; anti-socialist forces throughout Europe were weak and disorganised. History presented Russia with a unique opportunity to assist socialism to march triumphantly ahead. At that moment, what was most required for the triumph of socialism was to prevent a close alliance between Western Europe and America, and such alliance could actually have been prevented. It would have been prevented if Russia had eagerly forged ties of co-operation with the progressive parties in Europe and particularly with Labour in Britain—parties which, though avowedly non-

Communist, were, at that time, friendly to Soviet Russia, co-operation with socialist parties was necessary because, in the background of the deep-seated democratic tradition of western-Europe, socialism could not have come with the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By entering into alliance with socialist parties, Russia would have lost the fancied glory of being the sole leader of progressive Europe, but she would have gained for socialism a great victory. Unfortunately, the alliance, so urgently needed, was not reached. The Communist crusade against socialist parties, old and new, could, in the given situation, make no contribution towards the progress of revolution and could only cement the alliance between western Europe and the U.S.A. The forces of conservatism and reaction got a new lease of life.

The failure of Russia to enter into alliance with democratic socialism drove Roy to undertake a revaluation of Russian Communism. It appeared to him that Russia, saddled with dictatorship and infected with the spirit of revived nationalism, has been lost to democracy.

From the note of admiration in the early pages of "the Russian Revolution" to the regret and unsparing condemnation in the closing sections of the book, we witness the unfolding of an untiring mind in active interpretation of history.

AMLAN DATTA

Shakespearian Tragedy—By H. B. Charlton, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1948. Price 12s. 6d., pp. 1-246.

Professor Charlton brings to fullness his critical survey of Shakespearian plays in the present work; his earlier study of the comedies has now established itself as an indispensable aid to scholars and students for the interpretation of Shakespeare's comic genius. Here we are introduced to a profounder region, and Professor Charlton has asked very pertinently why is it that we enjoy tragedies being enacted in spite of the pain and suffering which they exhibit—can it be that the spectacle of suffering is a source of pleasure to the spectator? Then we should be more bloodthirsty than the Romans who flocked to Nero's circus to see Christians torn by lions; for the Romans who at least thought of the Christians as enemies of God and of their state while tragedies revealed the suffering of men of great virtue and worth. The Greek conception of Nemesis explained the suffering and made it morally acceptable to the audience. The business of the tragic dramatist is not to explain the mystery of existence; he only enables us 'to grasp the knowable and mysterious as elements in a potential universe, a cosmic system whose laws in the end are inscrutable, but indisputably are laws'.

Although Bradley has often been criticised as being "too little of a historian and too much of a philosopher", and also because he takes

Shakespeare's dramas as plays and not as poems, Professor Charlton unhesitatingly declares himself as 'a devout Bradleyite', and proceeds to the discussion of Shakespearian Tragedy with a "Bradley outlook". Like his great predecessor in Shakespearian Tragedy, he takes up in the present work a critical study of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear* without altogether neglecting the earlier tragedies, of which the first group comprising *Titus Andronicus*, *Richard III* and *Richard II* have connection with the later plays, which our author has indicated. In his opinion "Romeo and Juliet" in spite of superb lyricism, is stillborn and "Julius Caesar" does not belong with Shakespeare's tragedies but with his history. Professor Charlton might occasionally sound unorthodox but he is a great scholar and clear thinker. In the plays that he has analysed and interpreted, he does not act merely as an acolyte. He leaves the ground covered by Bradley to tell us a good deal about 'the cosmic framework peculiar to the stuff of each particular play'. Professor Charlton also uses earlier scholarship in the field of Shakespearian study and makes his approach to the questions he has discussed, both weighty and impressive.

Professor Charlton's work is a distinct contribution to the study of the Shakespearian Tragedy and will provide ample guidance to students, and to teachers who wish to carry out further investigation in the same field.

SRICHANDRA SEN

Guest of the Baron and other Stories—By C. R. Mandy. The Rampart Library, No. 29, Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Price Re. 1-8-0.

"Guest of the Baron and other Stories" is a mixed bag of thirteen short stories and a one-act play. Four of them deal with Nazi Germany, "Eau-de-Cologne" being the most poignant. "Port for the old Gentleman" is a novel tale of murder. "Daphne and Chaleeo" and "Aristide's Joy" deal with Eastern methods of love-making. "The Barque" and the "Patriot" introduce the element of the unusual. The reader with a sense of humour spends "An afternoon with Mr. Wong" or resorts to "The wild Goose".

The writer shows a delicate perception of character, a talent for description, and a love of travel. This is an entertaining book of short stories.

Y. MATHIAS

Ourselves

LATE J. C. ACHARYA

We heard with great regret of the death of Mr. Jagat Chandra Acharya, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law. Third son of the Late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, Mr. Acharya was a brilliant student of this University with which he was connected at the time of his untimely death as a part-time Lecturer in Commercial Law. He also served in the same capacity two of its affiliated colleges, *e.g.*, The City College and the Subhas Institute of Culture. For sometime he was also a contributor to this Journal. At the time of his death he was only forty-eight. We offer our condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

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DR. N. K. SINHA PRESIDES OVER MODERN SECTION OF INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

The twelfth session of the Indian History Congress was held in Christmas week at Cuttack. Dr. N. K. Sinha of the History Department of this University in presiding over its Modern History Section delivered a well thought out address. We are reproducing it elsewhere in this number of the Review. Here we only congratulate Dr. Sinha on the excellent lead he gave to the assembly of scholars over which he presided.

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THE LATE DR. D. N. CHAKRABARTY

We regret to refer to the death of Dr. D. N. Chakrabarty, Principal, Surendranath College. He was a Fellow of the University and a member of the Committee now considering the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission. In him has passed away an experienced educationist and an amiable gentleman.

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EXTENSION LECTURES

A few courses of Extension Lectures were delivered in the Darbhanga Hall of the University by some distinguished men from abroad. One of them was Dr. Carsun Chang, Chairman of the

Chinese Democratic Socialist Party, who spoke in his successive lectures on Chinese Philosophy, the Chinese Constitution and Political Thought of Modern China. The second Lecturer was Professor R. Henkl, sometime Editor 'Chroniques de Jour' and Lecturer in the Komazawa University of Tokiyo. He spoke on Comparative Literature. Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, K.C.M.G., was the third Lecturer. He belonged to the British Diplomatic Service and has recently come to the east as a representative of the British Council on a cultural mission. He spoke on "Gems of English Prose from Shakespere to Shaw" with recitations and readings from authors. His object is to rouse interest of students and intellectuals of the East in English literature and culture. The Vice-Chancellor presided over some of the meetings.

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HOW TO BUILD A SUITABLE MEMORIAL TO BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

On the 12th of the last month a meeting of the citizens of Calcutta was held in the Senate Hall to decide upon a suitable memorial to the Late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. It was presided over by H.E. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju who pointed out that the best memorial to the late Professor would be to follow his example and act as he had acted as an academician and a public man. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, in addressing the gathering deplored the death of Professor Sarkar at this hour and commended his ways of life to the scholars of to-day. Two resolutions were adopted, one for raising a sufficient amount of money for erecting a building which would house an Institute of Research and the other requesting the University of Calcutta and the National Council of Education to establish a Professorship—a memorial of Dr. Sarkar.

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OPENING OF THE INSTITUTE OF NUCLEAR PHYSICS

On the 11th January last the Institute of Nuclear Physics whose foundation stone was laid in April, 1948, by the Hon'ble Dr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee was formally opened by Madame Joliot-Curie in the presence of an impressive gathering of scientists and other educationists. H.E. the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor made short speeches, welcoming the distinguished visitor and Professor M. N. Saha detailed the history of the Institute and its possibilities. Madame Joliot-Curie opened the Institute by cutting the red-tape and delivered a speech fitting for the occasion. The speeches delivered on the occasion will be published in a subsequent issue of this Review.



Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

NOTICE

C-3281—AM.

It is notified for general information that the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the Session 1949-50, the Girls' College, Howrah, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Alternative Vernacular) to the I.A. standard and in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Bengali (Pass), Bengali Additional Vernacular, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy and Mental and Moral Philosophy to the B.A. Pass Standard, with permission to present candidates for the Examinations in the subjects from 1951 and not earlier.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

The result of Syamaprasad Brahma (Hugh. 95) at the I.Sc. Examination, 1949, published in the Calcutta Gazette should read as "85 Brahma, Syamaprasad (Phy).....Presidency College" in place of "85 Brahma, Syamaprasad.....Presidency College" in the First Division list.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

OTHER UNIVERSITIES

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR UNIVERSITY, SRINAGAR.

The Syndicate in its meeting held on 13th August, 1949 considered the case of Intermediate candidates who staged a walk out in the Examination in Physics Paper B on 24th June, 1949 and appointed a Sub-Committee to investigate the matter and submit a report. The Sub-Committee's recommendations were considered by the Syndicate in its meetings held on 22nd August, 1949 and on 12th October, 1949 and these were accepted. In pursuance of the acceptance of these recommendations, the following orders are hereby issued :—

Roll No.	Regd. No.	Name of the Candidate.	Father's Name.	Period of Institution rustica- to which the candidate belongs.	Institution to which the candidate belongs.
111	87. S. 49	Ram Rachpal Singh	S. Bhagat Singh	One year (1949)	S. P. College, Sgr.
64	53. S. 49	Bansi Lal	L. Lachman Dass	Two years (1949-50)	Do.
252	179. S. 49	Ghulam Moh'd Parey	M. Ghulam Ahmed Parey.	One year (1949).	Do.
22	61. P. 49	Makhan Lal Kotroo	Pt. Saumbhu Nath Kotroo	Do.	Kashmir Private.
254	181. S. 49	Vibhavasul Kaul	Pt. Kashyap Bandhu	Do.	S. P. College, Sgr.
315	98. S. 49	Makhan Lal Mujoo	Pt. Dina Nath Mujoo	Do.	Do.
316	99. S. 49	Moti Lal Dhar	Pt. Kasbi Nath Dhar	Do.	Do.

G. A. Ashai,
Registrar.

No. K. U. 7527—49 dated Srinagar the 20-X.49.

Copy forwarded to the Registrar, Calcutta University, Calcutta for information and favour of necessary action.

G. A. Ashai,
Registrar.

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR UNIVERSITY, SRINAGAR.

The Syndicate of the Jammu and Kashmir University, have ordered that the following candidates, who have been found guilty of using unfair means in the University Examination held in 1949 have been rusticated for the period shown against each :—

Serial No., Roll No., Name, Father's Name, Period of rustication, Institution.

Matriculation Examination

1. 977. Mohan Lal Kothedar.—Pt. Dina Nath—disqualified for one year (1949)—S. P. High School, Srinagar.
2. 1983. Moh'd Maqbool Shiekh—Kh. Ghulam Ahmad Shiekh—disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in Examination in 1950—Kishtwar Government High School.
3. 1039. Ghulam Mustafa Mir—M. Moh'd Sabir Mir.—Disqualified for one year (1949). S. P. High School, Srinagar.
4. 750. Kidar Nath Raina.—Pt. Badrinath Raina.—Disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in the Examination for the year 1950.—National High School, Srinagar.

Intermediate Examination

5. 550. 273-S-49-Prithvi Nath Dhar—Pt. Nila Kanth Dhar—Disqualified for one year (1949)—S.P.College, Srinagar.
6. 242. 175-S-49-Daya Kishen Sapru Mirza—Pt. Radha Kishen Mirza—Disqualified for one year (1949)—S. P. College, Srinagar.
7. 829. 78-G-49—Brij Lal Phalwan—Pt. Prithvi Nath Phalwan—Disqualified for one year (1949)—Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar.
8. 198. 52-GJ-49—Krishen Chand—Dr. Mathra Dass—Disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in the examinations for 1950 and 1951 (2 years)—Government College, Jammu.

Degree Examination

9. 508-148-GJ-49—Surat Singh Sambyal—Lt. Parvin Singh Sambyal—Disqualified for 1949 and debarred from appearing in 1950 and 1951—Gandhi Memorial Government College, Jammu.
10. 362-241-A-49—Girdhari Lal Raina—Pt. Badri Nath Raina—Disqualified for 1949 and debarred from appearing in 1950 and 1951.—Amarsingh College—Srinagar.
11. 485-226-GJ-49—Sukhdev Singh—Col. Nasib Singh—Disqualified for the year 1949—G.M.G. College, Jammu.
12. 261-140-A-49—Ghulam Nabi Khan—Mr. Ghulam Moh'd—Disqualified for the year 1949 and debarred from appearing in 1950 and 1951.—Mamar Singh College, Srinagar.

Visharda Examination

13. 33. 33-OC-49—Makhau Lal Bhrit—Pt. Jagar Nath Bhrit—Disqualified for one year (1949)—Government Pathshala, Srinagar.

High Proficiency in Urdu

14. 120-9-MI-49—Syed Maqbool Ahmed—Syed. Moh'd Amin—Disqualified for one year (1949) and debarred from appearing in 1950. Kashmir Private.

G. A. Ashai,

Registrar,

THE BAWA BACHITTAR SINGH PRIZE ESSAY, 1950.

1. Bawa Bachittar Singh, the Vice-President of the Delhi Municipal Committee, has very kindly donated Rs. 750 as a prize or prizes, to be awarded to the best essay or essays, written by members of the armed forces including those of the Indian State Forces, Civil Services, British Officers serving in India, Retired Officers and Research Scholars and Staffs of recognized Indian Universities, on a subject relating to defence.

Subject

2. It has been decided that the subject for the Essay will be :—

"India's declared policy in regard to her relations with foreign countries is to strive for world peace, to support the United Nations, to avoid all entanglement with power Blocks and to use her good officers for the liberation of dependent peoples. Her geographical position is of immense strategic importance.

She is greatly dependent, for some years upon imports of certain main commodities such as fuel, machinery, munitions, food.

Taking account of these factors, develop your recommendation as to the most suitable balance of Defence Forces in peace-time, for her protection in War."

Rules

3. The competition is open to all members of the Armed Forces including those of the Indian State Forces, Civil Services, British Officers serving in India, Retired Officers and Research Scholars and Staffs of recognised Indian Universities. It will be conducted by the United Service Institution of India.

4. All essays must be type-written and submitted *in triplicate*. They should not exceed 5,000 words, exclusive of tables.

5. Care should be taken to avoid confidential matter. When a reference is made to any work, the title of such work must be quoted.

6. The essays must be strictly anonymous and must be under the pseudonyms of the competitors. They must be accompanied by a sealed envelope with the pseudonym written on the outside and the name of the competitor inside.

7. All essays must be sent by registered post, addressed to the Secretary, the United Service Institution of India, Simla, so as to reach him by the 15th February, 1950.

8. The essays will be adjudicated on their general merits by three judges chosen by the Council of the Institution. The expression of views which do not conform strictly to generally accepted opinions will not necessarily be considered to detract from their value.

9. There will be two prizes—a first prize of Rs. 500 and a second prize of Rs. 250. These will be awarded to the writers of the best and the second-best essays, as adjudicated by the judges. The names of the successful competitors will be published in the July, 1950 number of the Journal of the Institution. If in the opinion of the judges the standard of the essays submitted is not high enough to justify the awards, no prize will be awarded.

10. Essays will become the property of the Ministry of Defence absolutely and authors will not be at liberty to make any use whatsoever of their essays without the concurrence of the Ministry.

11. Official sanction will be obtained in the case of any essay submitted by a serving officer before it is published.

UNIVERSITY OF GAUHATI

(Supplementary)

Orders passed by the Executive Council with regard to the cases of the following candidates who were expelled for using unfair means and for other reasons in the various Examinations of 1949.

I.A. Examination—Roll Jor. No. 80—Gunindrachandra Bordaloï, J. B. College, Jorhat.—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1955.

I.Sc. Examination—Roll Shi. No. 49—Sukumar Das, St. Anthony's College, Shillong.—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1953.

B.A. Examination—Roll Gau. No. N. 22—Manmath Bhattacharyya, C/o Babu Upendrakumar Bhattacharyya, Jail Road, Shillong.—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1951.

B.Sc. Examination—Roll Gau. No. 26—Bepinbhadra Sarmah, Cotton College, Gauhati.—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1951.

B.Com. Examination—Roll Jor. No. 19—Rupdhar Das, J. B. College, Jorhat. Roll Jor. No. 22—Golapchandra Gobain Phookan, J. B. College, Jorhat.—Debarred from appearing at any Examinations under this University until 1958.

Memo. No. Ex/3194—3249, dated Gauhati the 24th October, 1949.

P. DATTA,
Registrar.

Gauhati University, Gauhati.

UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

D.Dis. No. 35/49/Exam.

Proceedings of the Syndicate

Subject : Malpractice at the University Examination, March-April, 1949.

Read (1) Report of the Chief Superintendent;
(2) Explanation of the candidate;
(3) Report of the Examiner in the subject;
(4) Recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Syndicate on Residence, Welfare and Discipline of Students.

Order

The Syndicate having found the undermentioned candidates at the University Examination, March-April 1949, guilty of misconduct or resorting to unfair means at the examination, has resolved that the examination taken by these candidates be cancelled and they be debarred from appearing at any examination of this University earlier than the date noted against their names.

P. R. PARAMESWARA PANIKKAR,
Registrar.

Petitioner No.	Name of Candidate	Age	Examination taken by the candidate.	Date of birth	Name of father or guardian,	Address	Where educated	Period of Punishment.
1.	Chithranjan Das	15	B.L. Degree Examination.	26-12-1097	Sri B. Krishnan	Punamod Kunnukuzhi, Trivandrum.	H. H. The Maharaja's Law College, Trivandrum.	Not permitted to appear for any examination of this University hereafter.
2.	V. Ramanatha Ayyar	136	B.Sc. Degree	9-1-1104	Sri N. Venkitchalam Aiyar.	C/O. Sri N. Venkitchalam Aiyar, Advocate, Alleppey.	H. H. The Maharaja's University College, Trivandrum.	Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.
3.	S. Gopinathan Ayyar	298	Do.	21-9-1105	Sri S. Raman Pillai	Cheramel Veedu, Aryand, Alleppey.	S. Sanathana Dharma College, Alleppey.	Not to appear before March, 1950.
4.	V. I. Oomman	2074	Intermediate	14-4-1108	Sri V. J. Ilicheeria	Vallakkali, Muttampalam, Kottayam.	C. M. S. College, Kottayam.	Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.
5.	Prabhakaran K.	1647	Do.	20-4-1100	Kachappay	Kanjiramvilakathu Veedu, Venjaramoodu, Pirappancode, A.O.	St. Berchmans' College, Changanacherry.	Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.
6.	E. G. Sivaram Nayar	15	Diploma Examination in Textile Technology, Part I.	11-5-1099	Sri E. N. Parameswaran Pillai.	C/O. Sri E. N. Parameswaran Pillai, Lecturer University Intermediate College, Trivandrum.	Institute of Textile Technology, Trivandrum.	Do.
7.	N. Gopinathan Nayar	1	Do. Part II	4-6-1101	Sri T. N. Nanoo Pillai.	Puthen Veedu, Karthaviam Muri, Kuzhicaa, A.O., Arannmulla.	Do.	Do.
8.	P. Viswanatha Panikkar	107	Sahityavisarada Examination.	7-4-1102	Sri K. M. Parameswara Panikkar.	Karuvillil House, Erumalloor, Kuttiathode, A.O.	Private Study	Do.

9 K. Damodaran Unni- than	25	Do.	25-4-1997	Sri R. Krishnan Unnithan.	Kottungal Veedu, Para- kude, Adoor.	Do.	Do.
10. N. Sivasankara Pillai	79	Sanskrit Entrance	10-1-1100	Sri N. Neelakanta Pacikkar.	Keecharil House, Mutha- vazhi, Chengannoor	Do.	Do.
11. V. P. Ranganathan	58	Do.	7-12-1105	Sri K. C. Padmana- bhan	Valliyaparampil Veedu, Velikkodu, Maippattoor.	Do.	Do.

Communicated to :

(1) The Candidates, (2) The Principals of Colleges, (3) The Director of Public Instruction, Travancore, Trivandrum, (4) The Registrars of all Indian Universities, (5) The Secretary to the Public Service Commission, Trivandrum, (6) The Secretary to the Public Service Commission, Madras, (7) The Secretary to the Federal Public Service Commission, New Delhi, (8) The Director of Public Instruction, Tripunithura, (9) The Secretary to the Inter-University Board.

Office of the University of Travancore,
Trivandrum, August 1949.

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P. R. RANAMANSWARNA PANIDA,
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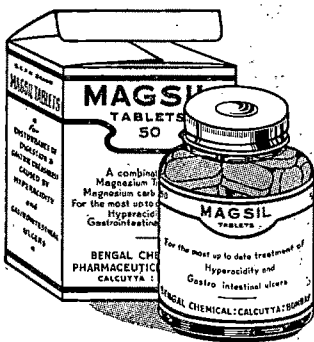
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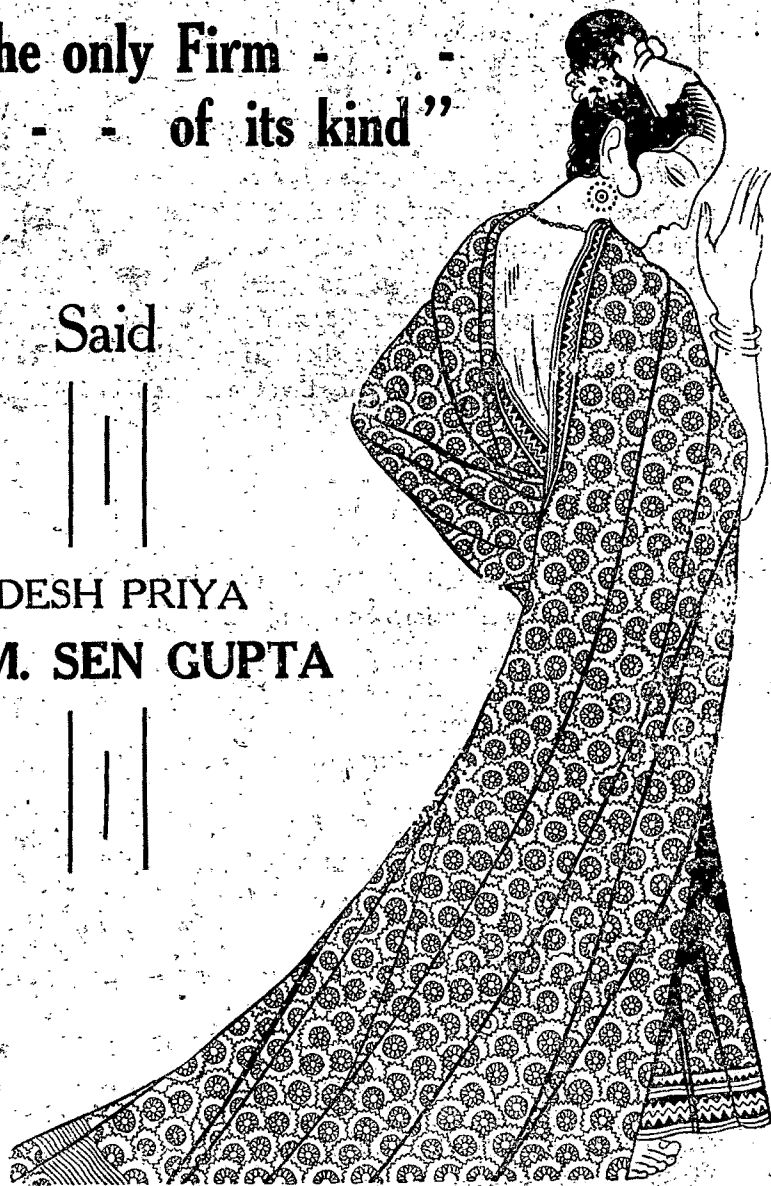
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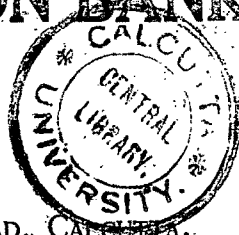
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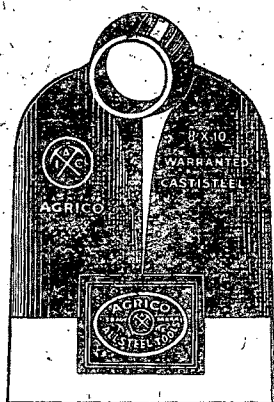
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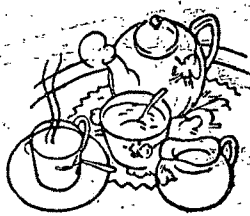
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1950

A DREAM OF GREATER BENGAL AND GREATER INDIA

DR. TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.

Lecturer, Calcutta University

The geographical, linguistic, cultural, ethnical and administrative boundaries of India as well as of Bengal and East India with their significance in relation to India as a whole, are vague and varied connoting differently in different epochs.

To be precise for the sake of avoiding any complexity and lengthy discussions, we may say that Eastern India is a separate unit by itself. In the hoary past India or "Bhārat-Varsha" was geographically divided as follows:

Uttarāpatha, Madhya-desa, Prāchya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Drāvida and Uttarākhandā. "Uttarāpatha" or the "Northern Highway" of the Vedic Aryans seems to be the land now covered by the Punjab (East and West), Rajputana, Sind, Gujarat and the N. W. F. (Peshwar) provinces. "Madhya-desa" or the Middle country (North-midland) of the Gangetic plain is roughly now what we know by U. P., Malwa plateau of Central India, Bundelkhand and the land to the south up to the Vindhya ranges or better the Narbada river. "Prāchya" or the "East-land" (Eastern India) comprises approximately the areas of Bengal proper, Assam, Chota-Nagpur, Baghelkhand, Orissa (including the States' area), Chhattisgarh Division of C.P., the Bastar State and the Northern circars sea-board of present Madras Province (once known as Kalinga or Andhra's part) up to the river Godavari. By "Dakṣiṇāpatha" or the "Southern Highway" we understand the area of country from the Nerbudda river on the

north to the Kriṣṇā river with its tributary the Tumbhadrā. (Tungabhadrā river) on the south. The Arabian sea lies to the west of this area and a narrow neck of sea-board of the Drāvida country lies to its east. Thus "Dakṣiṇāpatha" covers the Province of Mahārāṣṭra or Bombay, Berar, C. P. and the Nizam's late territories. South of the river Kriṣṇā and up to Cape Comorin, the whole area of land may be called the "Drāvida" country. By "Uttarā-Khanda" or the "Northern area" was meant the Himalayan mountain tracts which may now easily merge in the three great Divisions of Northern India or "Aryāvarta" (as opposed to "Dākṣiṇātya" or the whole of south India) of ancient India, just as the ancient countries Brahmāvarta and "Brahmarṣidesa" merged in the Punjab country.

India with its varied physical features, climates and temperatures with its people representing nearly all the races of the world is a vast country or sub-continent lying in the tropics, within 40 degrees north of the equator and justly called as the epitome of the world.

Geographically Eastern India "Prāchya" has quite a good natural boundary. It includes to its north the majestic Himalayas with the states of Nepal (at least Nepal Valley), Sikkim, Bhutan and some tribal areas in its easternmost part. The eastern boundary is normally taken as the Patkoi, Naga, Manipur and Lushai Hills as also the Chittagong Hill tracts. It may be extended further, so as to include all the lands west of the Irrawaddy river of Burma. This added portion composed of sparsely populated aboriginal areas, includes the Hukong Valley, the Kachin country, the Chindwin area, the Chin Hills country, Arakan and Bassein up to the mouth of the Irrawaddy. To the south of Eastern India is the wide sea-board of the Bay of Bengal which almost resembles a crescent. To the west of this Bay, the boundary follows the Godavari river up to Ben-Ganga. The western boundary follows the river Ben-Ganga upwards up to Maikal range. There is a knot of rivers at this Hill range, the chief rivers being Ben-Ganga, Narbada and the Son. The western boundary follows this Son river up to the Ganges near Patna and then follows the course of Gandak river upwards up to the Himalayas. This natural frontier may now be contracted considerably owing to the influence of the Hindi-speaking people and the proximity of U. P. In that case from the Son river *via* the Gaya Hill range and the Phalgu or Niranjanā river one may draw a line up to the Ganges to its south. Then to its north the course of the river Buri-Gandak may be followed upwards up to the Himalayan range.

The vast area of Eastern India may be called "Prāchya" for want of a better term. In old Sanskrit literature we find also a new division of India into four parts, such as "Udichi" (the "north" or the northern country, the "Abāchi" or the "Dakṣin" (the south or the southern country), "Prāchi" (the "east" or the eastern country) and "Pratichi" (the "west" or the western country). This eastern portion of India "Prāchya" not only possesses very big rivers like the Brahmaputra, the Ganges, the Padmā, the Meghna, the Teesta and the Mahānadi but also the snow-clad mountain ranges of the Himalayas, a large number of forest-clad hills, valleys, forests, river-plains, rivers and rich mineral wealth etc. In short, nature has bestowed very liberally all her choicest gifts as stated above, including flora and fauna, to this part of the globe which have attracted so many invaders in all ages for rapacity or settlement.

Ethnically Eastern India is inhabited by various races many of whom originally came to this country in Pre-historic period. The total number of population in this country will perhaps exceed 13 crores. The earliest population here were of Negrito stock now almost extinct, save and except, the Andaman islands and some nooks and corners of India itself. The next people were the Austriacs who once spread over all the North India riverplains from Bengal and Assam to Peshwar and Sind provinces. Their existence has been surmised in the Mohen-jo-Daro finds. These Austriacs now live in large numbers in Central Indian or Gondwana belt of India, including Chhattisgar, Orissa and the Sonthal Parganas. Austric blood is surmised in a large majority of people of Bengal proper. After the Austriacs who came to India by its eastern gates and the sea from the South-East Asia and the adjoining islands, the Pamirians were perhaps the next arrivals from the North-West of India. They were hilly people originally of the Pamir Zone and belonged to the Alpine branch of the Caucasians. They also spread over the Northern Indian riverplains and some scholars trace them in the Mohen-jo-Daro period. Race-pressure made them move to the east in Bengal and the adjoining localities, as the Austriacs shifted to Central Indian Gondwana region. These Pamirians were Brace-cephalic (round-headed) people and their blood is supposed by scholars to be contained in many upper classes of Bengal. Whether the Dravidians came before the Pamirians or after them, is not definitely known. The Dravidians seem to be the Proto-Mediterranean branch of the Cauca-

sian race and they entered India by its north-western gate before the Aryans. They also once spread over a large tract of Northern India and pressure of the Aryan race again from the north-west drove them to take refuge in South India. The Tibeto-Burmans entered India by its north-eastern passes like some of the Austrians, but after them, and they settled in large numbers in the Himalayas, Bengal proper and Assam. The Dravidians entered Bengal from the south by the sea-board of Bay of Bengal and settled in Orissa and West-Bengal. However, all the races intermixed at different periods of history. The Aryans or Vedic-Aryans were the latest arrivals in India and so also in Eastern India, and perhaps they belonged to the Nordic branch of the great Caucasian race.

The Austrians and the Pamirians mixed together in Bengal and the present Bengali people has evolved chiefly out of them. The Austrians, perhaps, were numerically greater than the other races coming to Bengal. Later on, the Mongolians also mixed up with the Austro-Alpines. Besides, the Bengali blood also contains in a lesser degree the Dravidian and the Aryan blood. These happened many centuries before the birth of Christ. The older view as championed by Risley is that the Bengalis are really Mongolo-Dravidians and the present view of Giuffrida Ruggeri and others is that they are Austro-Alpines. It should be mentioned here that the Vedic Aryans, the Pamirians and the Dravidians are all Caucasians.

If one gives a look to East India which extends, as described before, from the Himalayas to the Godavari and from the Ben-Ganga-Son rivers to the Irrawaddy river (Burma), it will no doubt be obvious to him, that the area contains almost all the principal races of the globe with the zone containing admixture in population remarkably in the middle portion, hitherto known as Bengal proper.

This middle portion of Eastern India as also of Greater Bengal is Bengal proper, and is one of the most densely peopled lands of the Earth and contains the most fertile soil evolved out of and drained by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra rivers. This area alone contains about $6\frac{1}{2}$ crores of highly cultured and intelligent population.

The area of Eastern India "*Prachya*" to the east of Bengal proper up to the Irrawaddy perhaps contains a population of less than 2 crores. Likewise the population in the area to the west up to the Godavari river will be about 4 crores. Thus the total population of Eastern India will be nearly $13\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Of course, this is a very rough calculation. Both the areas herein mentioned are mostly

sparsely populated and covered with dense forests and hill-ranges, save and except some well populated localities in Behar, Orissa and the Northern Circars (ancient Kalinga). Thus the central portion of Eastern India, known as Bengal (now divided as West Bengal and East Pakistan) is not only very rich in natural resources but also well-peopled by one of the most advanced and intelligent races of the world.

A large part of the Western portion of Eastern India belongs to the Central Indian Plateau or belt, inhabited by a number of primitive tribes belonging to the Mundari or Kolarian group of the Austric race. This area is Chota-Nagpur and Baghelkhand. To its north Bihar affords a good land for the Aryans or Aryanised Dravido-Pamirians (?) where population is rather thick on both the banks of the Ganges and culture well-established.

The area of Bihar may fall into two natural divisions, the river Ganges flowing between the two. The northern part contains the ancient Bideha or Mithila tract (now within Trihut administrative division) which has all the affinities with Bengal in language, culture and manners and was long under the rule of Bengal during the Hindu, Muslim and British periods. Mithila specialised in Astronomy and the Nyāya-Philosophy adopted and improved by Bengal which on the other hand gave Mithila her Vaisnavism during the days of the Hindu rule of the Senas. The "Brajabuli" dialect used in Vaisnavapada Literature of Bengal also connects Mithila closely with Bengal. The south Bihar or Magadha which flourished well during the period of the Sanskrit epic the Mahabharata, was once a great power in Eastern India. In historical period the Mauryas transferred the capital of the kingdom from the Hill-girt Rajgir (Rajgriha) to Pataliputra on the bank of the Ganges. This Magadhan kingdom attained imperial position and ruled the major part of India for a long time under various dynasties. But it was reserved for the kingdom of Gaur in Bengal proper under the Palas to make substantial improvement of this area culturally in a later period. The two Buddhist Universities of Nalanda and Bikramsila in this area were liberally supported by them and from this place Buddhist missionaries eventually converted Tibet to Mahāyāni Buddhism. This part, like Mithila was under Bengal from very ancient time till 1911 A.D. when it was separated by the British with other parts of Bihar. However, in this tract the local dialect is "Magadhi" which has affinities both with Hindi and Bengali. Besides these two

divisions of Mithila and Magadha Eastern Bihar on both the banks of the Ganges is also taken as a separate unit and falls within the Bhagalpur Division of Bihar as established by the British in later dates. This area once formed the kingdoms of Anga and Champā. Bhagalpur Division is composed mainly from some border tracts of Bengal which became a part of Bihar under British rule.

Commercially and economically Bihar is mostly dependent on Bengal and without the help of Bengal her economic existence is extremely in danger. Now the example and affinity of her western neighbour U. P. in respect of language and culture has captivated the mind of many modern Biharis and the separation of Bihar from Bengal with an independent existence made a schism between the two. Under these present unfortunate circumstances there is no way out of it and a few Western Districts of both North and South Bihar may be left outside the pale of Greater Bengal and so of Eastern India. Now we may divide Bihar into two fresh parts and the dividing line may be drawn by the rivers Buri-Gandak and the Phalgu with the hill-ranges of Gaya which are geographically a part of Chota-Nagpur. The Gaya hills reaching the Son river may make a good southern boundary of the excluded portions of Bihar composed of Sahabad (Arrah), Patna (in part), Muzaffarpore, Saran and Champaran Districts. Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Gaya, Monghyr and Sonthal Parganas Districts should go under Bengal or rather Greater Bengal and so form a part of Eastern India. Gaya, the nucleus of the ancient Magadhan kingdom, and the Sonthal Parganas are the two Districts which are geographically within the limits of Chota-Nagpur. From the above, we hope, it is sufficiently clear that Bengal cannot forego her claims over certain Districts of Bihar in the east, even if she has to lose some in the west, due to present adverse conditions. If Greater Bengal at all loses Bihar, then also the two Districts of Purnea and the Sonthal Parganas should be joined with the former.

Geographically Chota-Nagpur is a big area of jungles and hills inhabited by the Kolarian or Mundari tribes of Austrie origin. The Bengalis use to visit and many have already settled in the Sonthal Parganas (geographically within Chota-Nagpur), Manbhum, Singhabhum, Ranchi and Hazaribagh Districts of this area. Chota-Nagpur is mainly composed of the two plateaus of Ranchi and Hazaribagh. To the Bengalis of ancient time this land was known as Jharkhanda as frequently referred to in Vaisnava literature of Bengal. Chota-

Nagpur was for a long time under the administration of Bengal and separated in recent times and put under Bihar by the British rulers. Culturally and linguistically the Mundari people depend upon the Bengalis for their salvation. In manners and customs Bengal is their ideal. Geographically many West-Bengal rivers like Subarnarekha and Damodar have their origin in Chota-Nagpur hills. Bengal has also vested interests in industrial concerns like mining in this zone. It has good similarities physically with the border Districts of West-Bengal, and tradition and history point out innumerable contacts of Chota-Nagpur people with the people of West-Bengal. Even in certain features of religion, such as the worship of Siva, Chandi and Dharma deities Chota-Nagpur and West-Bengal have close affinities. In the fields of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism Gaya, Paresnath Hills and certain local areas played a part which only Bengal appreciated and not Bihar.

Orissa or Utkal (lit. northern Kaliṅga) occupy the north-west corner of the sea-board of Bengal. Bengal has always been in close touch with Orissa. The population of this province including the aboriginies, such as the Khonds, is mainly Austric in character with some admixture of the Dravidians and the Aryans among upper classes. There is also some admixture of the Bengalis in Orissa and this admixture is also noticeable in the southern Districts of West-Bengal. Not only that many Bengalis have permanently settled in Orissa but also Bengali language has much influence in this province. In fact, there is very little difference between Bengali and Oriya languages, excepting the script. Puri of Orissa carries the sacred memories of Sri Chaitanya even today. For a long time (after the loss of her glorious independence) in different epochs of her history, the province was under Bengal including the late British period. It separated from Bengal and joined with Bihar in 1911 A.D. It is only at recent times that Orissa became again fully separate by cutting its connections from Bihar. So far for some of the western parts of Eastern India.

Now, as regards the Eastern part of Eastern India or the lands to the east of Bengal proper, it may be said, Assam as a province contains both hilly area and river plains. In hilly area various tribal peoples have made their settlements. There are two valleys in Assam, named the Brahmaputra valley and the Surma Valley. The aboriginal tribes mostly dwell in the Hills. Thus the present Province of Assam is a heterogenous combination of hilly or wooded tribal areas and river-plains. These are as follows:

- (1) The Brahmaputra Valley.
- (2) The Surma Valley.
- (3) The Hill-area south of the Brahmaputra Valley.
- (4) The Hill-area of the Eastern Frontier.

Area No. 1 is a Bengali-speaking area and major part of the population is Bengali by race. This major population has two strata *e.g.*, the earlier and the later. The earlier Bengali people after their settlement, have some admixture of Mongolian blood within them and are known as the "Asamiyās". Their script is fully Bengali and their language known as the "Asamiyā" is nothing but a local-dialect of Bengali like many other dialects of this Province (Bengal). Their tongue and intonation have also these local peculiarities. The present Bengali settlers are full-blooded Bengalis who far out-number their earlier brethren and their modern migrations are not looked on with good grace by the Asamiyās, more for political than for economic or religious out look.

The next people of the Brahmaputra valley are the Ahoms, a branch of the great Thāi group of the Mongolians, who migrated to this area coming from the north-east. Ahoms of the Brahmaputra valley, the Manipuris of the Eastern Frontier (Assam), the Shans of Upper Burma and many upper class Siamese all belong to this Thāi group. Besides, the kingdoms of Prāggyotishpur and Sonitpur of mythological age, and Kamrup in historical period, in the Western part of this valley was the nucleus of a powerful kingdom up to Sibsagar side in the eastern part. The Ahoms found this powerful kingdom and once they were a strong power in this valley, though now relegated to the back-ground by the Asamiyās who are never known to have established any kingdom in this valley. Yet, the Asamiyās have two powerful centres of activity, one in Gauhati (Western Brahmaputra Valley) and another at Jorhat (Eastern Brahmaputra Valley), the majority of the Asamiyā people of the former being Hindu and the latter Moslem. In the whole of Assam province the Hindu Asamiyās of Gauhati (Dt. Kamrup) locality have the greatest voice in shaping the destiny of the province.

Besides the Bengalis there is a good number of people from Bihar and Chota-Nagpur localities working in the tea plantations of the whole of Assam.

No. 2 area, the Surma Valley, comprising the two Districts of Sylhet and Cachar may be called as totally Bengali, save and except,

the Cachari population who once found a powerful monarchy in this zone. By the lapse of time these Cacharis too have now grown to be Bengalis. The whole Surma Valley now speaks Bengali tongue and possesses Bengali sentiment. The Surma Valley people rival the Asamiyās and are quite antagonistic to their ambitions to lord over the people of the Surma Valley. Before recent partition of Bengal, Surma Valley wanted to be joined with Bengal which her present geographical position does not allow. South of Sylhet District the native State of Tipperah (India) has always earned fame as the place where Bengali language received support by its Rajas.

No. 3 area of Assam comprising the Garo Hills, the Khāsi Hills, the Jayantia Hills and the Nāgā Hills inhabited by the aboriginal tribes, the districts being named after them. The Bengalis and the British-sponsored European Christian Missionaries are the two factors to culturally unify and uplift them. Naturally the former should now come forward for the above heavy responsibility and the influence of the latter should now gradually cease.

No. 4 area consists of the state of Manipur and the Lushai Hills District. To the south of the latter, the District of Hill Chittagong, though also a frontier District and once a part of Chittagong Division of united Bengal never belonged to Assam. It now falls within the area of Eastern Pakistan after partition. The aboriginal tribes here are trying to uplift themselves as Bengalis and Bengal's claim over this District has never been disputed. Regarding the cases of Manipur and the Lushai Hills, it may be said, that their contact with Bengal at different times under British rule made the people of these two localities friendly to the Bengalis and both economically and as frontier zones they have no other way but to remain faithfully within Bengal for mutual benefit.

Thus, the whole Province of Assam needs joining with the undivided Bengal and the present artificial condition of divided Bengal can never stand for a long time.

By extension of Greater Bengal to the east, the Hunkong Valley, the Kachin Valley, the Chindwin Valley and the Chin Valley whose eastern frontier is the river Irrawaddy should be strongly claimed by Eastern India as its easternmost part. River Irrawaddy is sacred to the Hindus who annually perform religious ablutions here. Besides political and military needs, this sparsely populated backward area of Upper Burma is extremely useful and necessary for the expansion of Eastern India. To keep in check the Mongolian migration into

India from Burma and China the area must remain within India. The area is also extremely valuable for India for its mineral wealth as also for settlement of its population.

To the south of the above provinces, the territories of Arakan or Roshang and Bassein have all along joined hands with India in the fields of culture and politics. Bengali language and literature found good patronage in the Court of Arakan in the 17th century when one Magan Thakur was Prime Minister here. In this century the arrival of Prince Suja, a son of the Moghul Emperor Sahajahan, as a fugitive to this court and the tragic consequences that followed, are matters of history. From the 17th to the 18th century the political connection of Arakan with Bengal was very unhappy. Along with the Portuguese pirates the Arakanese made constant inroads to Bengal by sea and thereby destroyed Bengal's peace and happiness in the South-East for a long time, as the Mahratta Bargis committed the same by land in south-western side of the Province in the 18th century. However, then many Arakanese settled in South-Bengal and at first posing as conquerors, later on have been carrying on trade and keeping good relationship with the Districts of Chittagong and Backergunge. The people of Arakan are known as the Mags and the people of Bassein joined them (the Arakanese) in all the cruel activities of their neighbours. Political and cultural relationship of these two provinces of Burma are very deep-rooted. Social, religious and economic factors joining these two countries with Bengal are not less important. Thus these two lands are essential parts of Eastern India and not of Burma with the people of which the Arakanese are always at variance.

(To be continued.)

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

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1. The object of this essay is to examine the claims of the newly-sprung subject called 'philosophy of science' to the position of a special branch of philosophy. We will first consider that part of philosophy of science which studies scientific method and next that part which studies the content of science and seeks to raise a philosophical structure on the basis of science. Speculation on the method of science is not a novel phenomenon in human thought : it is found in Aristotle's logic, and, in a well-developed form, it is in the writings of Bacon, Galileo and Newton ; later it found such able minds to harbour it as of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, and later still, of such acute scientific thinkers as Ernst Mach, Karl Pearson and Henri Poincaré. Yet the modern speculation on scientific method assumes some special importance and has attracted the best minds, a large majority of whom are scientists. The last feature, *viz.*, the preponderance of scientists among the thinkers on scientific methodology, if rightly interpreted, would explain the prominence which the subject has lately acquired. For now it is not in a mood of idle speculation that one philosophises on science, rather one seriously feels that unless the scientists are well-aware of the procedure which they have to follow, that is, unless there is a clear, definite and commonly accepted theory of scientific method, further progress of science is but a matter of chance. The older scientists, for instance, Galileo and Newton, did not have to depend for their following of a correct method of science, and so for their discoveries in science, on any understanding of scientific methodology ; in fact, we find a cleavage between their theory and practice. Galileo believed in atomistic mechanism and Newton suspected theorising in science, both of these positions go against a correct theory of scientific procedure which these men followed without understanding it. Even in the case of Poincaré and Pearson no marked connection between their theory and practice of science can be found. Perhaps Einstein had such scientist-philosophers in his mind when he wrote the following. "If you wish to learn from the theoretical physicist anything about the methods which he uses, I would give

you the following piece of advice : Don't listen to his words, examine his achievements." ¹

But this disjunction between science and philosophy of science, and consequently a very haphazard procedure of scientific research, could not continue when with the rapid advance of science, especially physics, many old scientific concepts had to be given up and quite newer ones substituted for them. For instance, the Newtonian mechanics with all its assumptions was declared inadequate to systematise and explain all the scientific data, and the theories of relativity and quantum mechanics with their far-reaching and revolutionary implications had to be instituted in the place of this classical theory in physics. Such changes in the subject-matter of science entailed also a change in the older mode of apprehending the method of science, the mode being one of indifference nourished by a simple faith that science can best progress when let alone. Now, when the scientists faced many difficult problems of description and interpretation of phenomena (one being the problem of describing the non-picturable entities in mathematical formulae and of interpreting them) they enquired into the methods and presuppositions of their science and felt for the first time the need for explicating scientific methodology. Now it appeared to them that to advance scientific theories and to philosophise on the methods of science are not distinct activities, they are inter-related and should work hand in hand for steady advancement of science. The scientists have realised this recently and are philosophising on their subject for the sake of doing better justice to it. Philosophising is no luxury with them now as it is done to meet the demands of science itself and their entrance into the arena of philosophy should not be regarded as an 'intrusion' by the professional philosophers. The latter still enjoy their jurisdiction over scientific method, yet it is modestly suggested by the scientists that they may also throw some light on the matter that concerns them so intimately.

This fact then, that philosophy of scientific method now is a concern of the scientists themselves, that it affects the course of science in a significant manner, is responsible for the recently grown importance of the subject. It remains, as before, a branch of philosophy, but has acquired added status owing to its closer relationship with science which now commands great prestige by virtue of its revolutionary discoveries both in its theoretical and practical fields.

¹ *On the Method of Theoretical Physics.* (1933) p. 5.

2. Now we come to consider that part of philosophy of science which deals with the content of science and seeks to construct philosophical schemes on the basis of science. But we have to consider the precise relation which this philosophy of science bears to science. The relation is the same as that between science and nature,—this seems to be the simplest way to conceive it and has been suggested by A. C. Benjamin.¹ He writes, "If the task of science is to explain scientific data by means of scientific hypotheses then the task of the philosophy of science is to explain philosophical data by means of philosophical hypotheses *but the philosophical data are precisely the scientific hypotheses in their relationship with the scientific data*".² Scientific data are systematised and explained by scientific hypotheses which are confirmed by testing against the former, philosophical hypotheses, systematise and explain these scientific hypotheses and seek higher syntheses though these are a stage further removed from the original data of science and so are less confirmable. But this is only a difference in the *degree* of confirmability, the *method* of philosophical confirmation is the same as that of scientific confirmation. Now the above thesis regarding the relation between science and philosophy cannot be called a philosophical one for it judges philosophy itself; we should rather call it a metaphysical hypothesis.

Some common objections are directed against the possibility of a philosophy of science and any one who advances a philosophical theory on the basis of scientific researches must meet these objections beforehand. The most common objection is that "philosophy of science is too vague and speculative to warrant serious consideration". But we may reply (after Prof. Benjamin) that scientific hypotheses too are vague and speculative "by comparison with the data in terms of which they are verified." The scientific facts contain much that is hypothetical in character, the ultimate brute facts can only be verified in terms of denotative gestures, even the simplest commonsense data of experience is shot through by interpretative and hypothetical elements. Thus the philosophical hypotheses differ from the scientific ones only in the *degree* of complexity of the verificatory process and not in the *kind* of the process. And if one wants to reject all hypotheses and wants to be content with the bare data of experience (like some anti-metaphysical scientists of our time), there is but one practical

¹ See his essay "Science and Philosophy of Science" in *Philosophy of Science* (Vols. 5, No. 4.)

² *Ibid.* p. 422.

suggestion for him,—this that hypotheses have always proved fruitful to the scientists in their research work.

Another objection to philosophy of science is that it is *a priori* and goes against the scientific spirit, science being *a posteriori*. Now, this objection can be met by simply stating that science is not necessarily *a posteriori* and that philosophy of science is not necessarily *a priori*. There are scientific hypotheses which are first somehow intuited by some scientific genius and later found to regulate the data of science, science is not so strictly empirical in its procedure as it is sometimes supposes. Again, philosophy of science is not wholly committed to the deductive method; according to a large majority of philosophers all philosophical principles are but inductive generalisations, philosophy of science has but to examine the findings of science and to read out of the data (which are but scientific theories) some hypotheses which may systematise and explain them. Thus it is wrong to suppose that philosophy of science assumes certain *a priori* principles and forces them on science; in fact, it follows science as the latter follows nature.

Thus the claims of philosophy of science to be a special branch of constructive philosophy are justified and its recent popularity is based not on the human weakness for anything novel but on firmer and creditable grounds of reason and love of truth.

3. We have justified the existence and continuance of philosophy of science in its double capacity, *viz.*, as a critical study of scientific method and as a constructive philosophy based on the findings of science. We will now cite a few opinions of eminent thinkers of our day both in science and philosophy who have emphasised the importance of this branch of philosophy. As a critical study of scientific method it is a movement within science itself.¹ "The further physical science progresses the less it can dispense with philosophical criticism," says the eminent physicist Erwin Schroedinger.² Herbert Dingle in his inaugural lecture (in 1947 as a Professor of History and Philosophy of Science; University College, London) contended that "The state of unself-conscious automatism in which science finds itself to-day is due to the lack throughout its history of a critical school, working within the scientific movement itself and performing the function

¹ See C. W. Morris' essay "Scientific Empiricism" in *Encyclopedia and Unified Science*, (1938) p. 70.

² In *Science and Human Temperament*, (1935) p. 43.

which criticism has performed for literature from the earliest times.¹ He maintains that such a criticism is valuable in two ways: "it can direct the movement itself so that blind alleys are avoided and the path of progress illumined, and it can make science self-conscious and aware of the significance of what it is doing in relation to other human activities."² Reflection on science is necessary for science itself, so that philosophy of science and science are closely inter-related. "The two things are so closely related that natural science cannot go on for long without philosophy beginning; philosophy reacts on the science out of which it has grown by giving it in future a new firmness and consistency arising out of the scientist's new consciousness of the principles on which he has been working."³ So writes R. G. Collingwood who opines that a scientist of to-day who does not reflect upon his discipline "has not achieved a grown-up man's attitude" and he is a "Second-hand, imitative; journeymen scientist."⁴

Philosophy of science as constructive metaphysics raised on the basis of science has been upheld by many a philosopher though the scientists themselves are rather aseptical about it. The arguments of A. C. Benjamin have already been mentioned in this essay. H. N. Lee⁵ has put forth similar arguments in favour of inductive metaphysics whose principles should be treated as hypotheses explaining the scientific generalisations. Similar are the views of Friend and Fiebleman,⁶ W. R. Thomson,⁷ E. A. Burt⁸ and many others.

4. Thus philosophy of science is a legitimate, nay, very important, study. Yet there is a certain prejudice in the minds of 'pure' philosophers and also of intelligent laymen against this discipline. The reason for this is to be found in the attempts on the part of some popularisers to over-simplify the results of science and to draw hasty philosophical conclusions from them. Eddington and Jeans, though they were very eminent as scientists, have been guilty of such popularization and misrepresentation of science and they have been subjected to ruthless criticism by some pure philosophers, e.g., Joad⁹ and

¹ See his *The Missing factor in Science*. (1947) p. 18.

² See *Ibid.* *loc. cit.*

³ R. G. Collingwood: *Idea of Nature*. (1945) p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* *loc. cit.*

⁵ See his essay, "Metaphysics as a hypothesis" in *Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. XLIV. No. 13.

⁶ See their *What Science really means*. (1937) Chap. VI.

⁷ See his *Science and Common Sense*. (1937) p. 190.

⁸ See his *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science* (1925) p. 305.

⁹ See his *Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science*. (1934).

Stebbing.¹ About these popularisers Herbert Dingle writes, 'In this subject (Relativity and Quantum theory) more than any other, the cry for interpretation has met with a response from men peculiarly gifted in exposition, and rough places have been made so plain that it is scarcely possible to tread them without slipping.'² "The requirements in this peculiar field before us now are a considerable knowledge of physics and philosophy and extreme simplicity and breadth of mind."³ The prestige of philosophy of science will increase with the increasing number of thinkers fulfilling the above requirements. At present the body of such thinkers is small. But it is growing steadily and very significant works⁴ have appeared in this field of human enquiry. Certainly, philosophy of science has a very bright future.

¹ See her *Philosophy and the Physicists*. (1937).

² See his *Through Science to Philosophy*. (1937) p. 7.

³ See *Ibid.* p. 13.

⁴ e. g. works by Einstein, Max Planck, Schroedinger, Philip Frank, P. W. Bridgman, V. F. Lenzen and Herbert Dingle.

THE DOLLAR PROBLEM

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The world economy to-day as never before has been passing through serious strain for many reasons. Very recently the General Report of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation has discussed the trends of the world economy to-day briefly as follows :

“ The normal pattern of trade between the participating countries and Germany and the American continent was a substantial deficit against the former on trading account, this deficit was \$1,450 million in 1938. This adverse trade balance was offset by the participating countries' earnings on invisible account, by the sale of colonial produce to the United States, and by earning of dollars from sales to the rest of the world. This was the customary process of multilateral trade. All these factors have been distorted by the war. The foreign investment income is gone, there is a big dollar bill for shipping services, tourist income has not yet recovered. At the same time, the loss of other sources of supply has forced Europe to turn to the American continent for essential supplies on a much greater scale than before, and prices have increased heavily, the dislocation of industry by the war has tended to damage particularly industries and agriculture which contributed most to Europe's dollar income. The destruction in the Japanese war has turned the net income of sales of rubber, tin and other dollar-earning colonial products into expenditure. Finally, the shortage of dollars generally has made it hardly possible for Europe to earn dollars by sales to the rest of the world. The size of the deficit results from the cumulative effect of all these forces (p. 29). The problem invariably affects the world economy as a whole and specially it affects adversely, the pattern of international trade yet to be developed by the great powers cooperating together in the larger context of the present situation. The question of international balance of payments is very likely to be the main target for immediate tackling by experts. The economists of all shades of opinion are naturally increased in the fundamental question of devaluation that may go a long way to cure the existing ills of the world economy from long and short view points. It is to be remembered that devaluation of the pound sterling by itself cannot revive the normal trade in full swing of the prewar era. Generally it is believed that all countries big or small alike have to pursue common programme of reconstruction and development affecting the vast millions over the less developed regions of the

Eurasia. According to the survey of the Economic Situation and Prospects of Europe, "to restore equilibrium in Europe's balance of payments with overseas will require a large expansion of exports or a large contraction of imports or some combination of both methods. In relation to the 1938 volume of overseas trade the gap to be filled is in the order of \$2,000 m. and would require a 56 per cent. increase in Europe's exports or a 36 per cent. contraction in its imports. In relation to the 1947 levels of trade (expressed in 1938 prices) the gap is about \$3,300 million and would involve a 114 per cent. increase in exports or a 53 per cent. contraction in imports". The problem is and has been immense for the peculiar nature of the dollar question involved. It is one of the main Issues facing us all how to develop or how to adjust the short-run and the long-run policy of trade with no disturbances to the position of equilibrium very seriously so as to dislocate the world economy as a whole. The British Commonwealth and European Economic Cooperation are supposed to move in line with the changing pattern of trade resulting from the devaluation of the 24 currencies in relation to the dollar. The problem of devaluation is necessarily one of adjusting depreciated currencies with the dollar. Everybody knows that the prewar pattern of trade and payments so far as the U.K., Europe and the U.S.A. were concerned, involved on the one side import surpluses by the United Kingdom with all but two (Greece and Turkey) European countries which were in part offset by invisible receipts, while on the other side Germany had export surpluses to most European countries which they were able to upset against their sterling earnings. Any realistic picture of a new equilibrium of European payments must allow for the reduced import surpluses with European countries that the United Kingdom can sustain while her export balances elsewhere are at a lower level than prewar.

What about the dollar gap persisting and that may continue to remain so far a few years more? It may be examined in the light of what Dr. C. P. Kindleberger says :

"At basis the explanation for the chronic world shortage of dollars is to be found in the technical superiority of the United States in the production of many goods necessary to a high modern standard of living and to the natural desire in other countries to raise real incomes faster than the basic conditions of their economic productivity justify. The United States has large and fairly balanced natural resources, relatively modern and efficient capital equipment but a large domestic market for the output of its own mass-production industries. The

United States can produce a variety of producers' and consumers' goods with a price and quality advantage so great as to be almost absolute. The advantages of other countries over the United States in the production of other industrial goods are relatively narrow. Under these conditions the law of comparative advantage can establish equilibrium in international trade only with great difficulty, especially since technological advance is being made in the United States and abroad at a rapid pace (pp. 379-80. "International Monetary Stabilization in Post-War Economic Problems" Edited by S. E. Harris, New York 1943.)

Today the extent of the current dollar shortage is reflected in the surpluses on current account of the United States balance of payments vis-a-vis the rest of the world in recent years. From \$1,280 million in 1938 the surplus rose to \$8,136 million in 1946 and \$11,276 million in 1947. In 1948 the surplus was reduced to \$6,335 million, indicating a reduction in the dollar deficit of the rest of the world. (Nineteenth Annual Report of the B. I. S., 1949, p. 96.) To pay for these large deficits with the United States the foreign countries had to use a considerable portion of their none too ample resources of gold and dollars. Their holdings of gold and short-term dollar assets which had stood at \$23.0 billion in 1945 declined to \$21.7 billion in 1946 and further to \$17.8 billion in 1947 (Federal Reserve Bulletin, Sept. 1948, p. 1085). It is clear that the monetary reserves of the rest of the world were much too inadequate to finance a sustained balance of payments deficit with the United States of such dimensions.

(Annual Report of the Executive Directors, International Monetary Fund, June 30, 1947, p. 14). It may also be pointed out here that the dollar deficit of the sterling area has been assuming a formidable size for a fairly long time. The Economic Commission for Europe in a recent issue of the Economic Bulletin has analysed the causes as follows :—

The major part of the sterling area's deterioration in its current account balance with the United States and Canada was owing to dollar imports, not by Britain, but by other members of the sterling area—namely India, Pakistan, Malaya and South Africa. It stated that between 1938 and 1948, the deficit on the merchandise account of the United Kingdom rose by only \$77,000,000 while the adverse balance of the rest of the area increased by \$378,000,000.

A 70 per cent. increase in sterling area exports to the United States and Canada from 1938 to 1948 was considerably outweighed by the rise in its volume of dollar imports. The Bulletin said that this was

not true of Britain, which cut its purchases from the United States in 1948 to 60 per cent. of the 1938 volume and of Australia, Iceland and New Zealand, which also cut dollar imports. But South Africa, India, Pakistan increased theirs from three to four and a half times the 1938 level, at the same time increasing their imports from Britain.

India and Pakistan alone increased imports from the United States from \$33,000,000 in 1938 to \$314,000,000 in 1948 and their imports from Britain rose from \$160,000,000 to \$447,000,000 in the same period. There were also high rates of increase in Malaya, Ceylon, Burma and other overseas sterling countries. The report says, "If a part from the extraordinary drain on imports by India and Pakistan imports from North America into the overseas sterling countries had remained at the 1938 volume these countries would have had a total dollar surplus of 1948, instead of deficit of more than \$400,000,000 in trade with the United States and Canada.

The large increase in imports of American manufactures did not represent a substitution of American for British goods but was part of a general increase in imports, possibly because the United Kingdom surplus on the current account with the rest of the sterling area, about \$100,000,000 consisted largely of unrequired exports, financed by reductions in the sterling balances held by other members of the area and by other capital transfers.

A large proportion of the sterling area's imports from Britain, said the Bulletin, had consisted of capital equipment and other industrial goods necessary for economic development. "As it is, the United Kingdom has attempted to carry the double burden of a major balance-of-payments readjustments necessitated by the war, alongside the financing of greatly expanded imports into the less-developed regions of the sterling area".

It was recommended that the underdeveloped members of the area should turn to international agencies for economic development.

Britain and the other members of the sterling area were advised to seek their major markets in Canada and non-dollar countries rather than in the United States. It said that only about \$850,000,000 of the sterling area's total dollar deficit of \$2,400,000,000 is with the United States. Another \$680,000,000 is with Canada, and the rest, approximately \$870,000,000 is with the other dollar and non-dollar countries. As a result of devaluation, it was added, opportunities for British exports to Canada should become much more favourable.

Finally, in order to reap the benefits of devaluation the survey considered that Britain would have to "impose more rigid limits on

the level of unrequited exports". The warning was added, that, unless such controls were introduced, the increased demand from the sterling area, in addition to that from other sources following devaluation, might merely tend to drive up the prices of British goods and limit the increase of dollar-earning or dollar-saving exports.

It is highly important that for a proper solution of the dollar problem, it is not simply the countries with chronic deficits that need adjustments, but also countries like the U.S.A. which are enjoying a persistent surplus. It is well-known that the American demand for the bulk of the exports of the rest of the world is quite inelastic and a reduction in the dollar value of foreign countries or a lowering of American tariffs may not lead to an appreciable increase in American imports. In the circumstances almost the entire burden of adjustment to restore equilibrium may have to be borne by the countries which are experiencing a dollar shortage. But the problem of dollar scarcity is in many respects an American problem (The Economist, July 3, 1948 and June 26, 1948). The present dollar scarcity may be attacked from the short and long aspects of international trade-setting. It may be stated that capital exports from the United States every year, not only on Government account but on private account, may have to be increased in amounts. In 1947 to close the dollar gap of \$11,278 million \$6,891 million were available from the United States Government in the shape of loans and investments, while the rest outflow of private long-term capital was \$744 million. The figures for 1948 were \$687 million and \$761 million respectively. During these two years the net outflow of private American capital was only 15% of the total outward movement of funds. (Nineteenth Annual Report of the B. I. S., 1949, p. 9). It may interest us to know a recent estimate of the American-owned assets in foreign countries. Below is given a table :—

Estimate of American-owned Assets in Foreign Countries

Type of Asset	End of 1939,	1945 and 1947 (In millions of dollars)		
Private Investments Long term				
Direct Investments ..	..	6,750	7,600	9,400
Other ..	..	6,100	7,200	5,700
Total, long-term ..	..	12,850	14,800	15,100
Short-term ..	..	1,050	900	1,600
Total private investments ..	..	13,900	15,700	16,700

U. S. Govt. assets				
Long-term	..	..	40	1,600
Short-term	..	..		11,700
				400
Total U. S. Govt. assets	..	..	40	1,600
				12,100
Total American-owned Assets	..	..	13,940	17,300
				28,800

Note : The 1939 and 1945 data were taken from Treasury Department Census of American-Owned Assets in Foreign Countries, 1947, p. 9. The 1947 data are from Deptt. of commerce press releases OBE—142 August 26, 1948, United States investments abroad.

In the table it is shown that Government loans and credits to foreign countries rose from a negligible figure in 1939 to more than \$1,600 million at the end of 1945 and then, as post-war lending really expanded, rose again in two years to \$12,100 million at the end of 1947. The latter total included about \$3,400 million subscribed to the Bretton Woods Organisations. At the same time, total private investments increased from \$13,900 million at the end of 1939 to \$16,700 million at the end of 1947. Most of the increase was in private investments in Latin America and the Near East. The increase in government-owned foreign assets exclusive of the subscriptions to the Fund and the Bank has been mostly in Europe, particularly as a result of the loans to the United Kingdom and France. It is to be understood that the economic and political conditions in the world still continue to be adjusted with sufficient capital exports from the U.S.A. who alone holds the key to modern economic malaise looming large on the horizon. It is also expected and necessary that the nations in need of assistance must sit up intelligently and intellectually at a high level. For instance, the present situation as it is, it is highly desirable that the fullest use is made on the basis of cooperative efforts of Europe's resources which require for their economic development initially large capital outlays and which would produce outputs too large for use in the country in which they are located; what is also required is that production should be located wherever comparative advantage is greatest. This may be started in the following way:—

(a) A Development Fund subscribed by participating countries and available for approved transfers of resources resulting from tariff reductions.

(b) Encouragement of particular developments by the negotiation between two or more countries of preferential treatment for the products of the industries concerned.

(c) Question of improving the speed and eliminating avoidable costs in the movement of raw materials and the distribution of goods within Europe. There is a compelling case for developing an interconnected network of navigable waterways and roads on an international rather than a national basis. (p. 324—*Economic Journal*, Sept., 1949—The British Commonwealth and European Economic Cooperation by D. J. Morgan).

Further, in supplement to the efforts of the European countries the U. S. A. must wake up to the pressing demands of the Asian countries as well. It is a patent fact that the Asian nations still continue to be neglected in the matter of reconstruction and development. The European Recovery Programme launched by the American government has already had a profound effect on the recipient countries and a Marshall Aid Plan for Asian countries is the crying need of the hour. The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development must come forward in greater efforts to finance the development plans of the less developed regions which are not in a position to start the programme of reconstruction in the present context. It is highly desirable that the Point Four of President Truman's Inaugural Address delivered on 20th January, 1949 dealing with the improvement and the growth of underdeveloped areas is taken up immediately in practice. It may also be required to-day that the U. S. A.'s emerging as the world's greatest creditor industrial and exporting power, should be in keeping with the status she carries. For instance, the U. S. A. should be a willing lender as well as a ready importer in line with the development of the large-scale trade on world-scale. The most dominant question of the hour, however, still remains unsolved unless and until the U. S. A. immediately checks up the price trend of her own country as a stimulus to further foreign trade. Recently, Paul Einzig, in a despatch "Sterling Area and U. S. Price Trend", *Indian Finance*, Dec. 3, 1949, observes :—

During October, the first complete month since the devaluation the sterling value of British exports to the United States showed a noteworthy increase. On the other hand, their dollar value—which, after all, is what really matters from the all-important point of view of the dollar gap—showed a decline.

It is indeed most disheartening that, now that the British Govt. and British exports are at last bracing themselves to a really supreme effort to increase sales to the Dollar Area, there are indications that a very large proportion of the fruits of this effort will vanish into thin air as a result of a fall in American prices. Such a fall tends to frus-

trate the British efforts to bridge the dollar gap, not only through a reduction of the dollar proceeds of the goods they are able to sell in the United States, but also through a reduction of the quantities they are able to sell in the United States.

A fall in American prices would utterly defeat the aim of the devaluation of sterling. It would also rule out future solution in the same direction, for it stands to reason that a second devaluation would only be followed by another decline in dollar prices. The problem of the dollar gap would remain and it would either lead to a really drastic curtailment of purchases of American goods or the American taxpayer would have to continue to finance the abnormally large export surplus. The remedy lies in what would be considered as the most effective in arresting and reversing the decline of American gold, preferably in conjunction with an all-round increase by all countries represented on the International Monetary Fund. The unpopularity of such a measure in the United States is widely realized over London. Nevertheless it is hoped that confronted with a deflationary depression as the alternative, American opinion might change.

WHO WAS THE AGGRESSOR?

• SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

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On the 9th February, 1757, Nawab Siraj-ud-daula put his signature on a solemn treaty with the East India Company with the following preamble: "God and his prophets are witnesses that I never will deviate from the terms of the treaty I have now made with the English Company, and I will on all occasions show them my favour, relying on your faith to observe inviolably your part of the treaty."¹ On the 30th July following, Clive wrote to "Alamgir Sani, King of Hindusthan," that the Nawab "a few days after broke his oath and joined with the enemies of the English to destroy them", and so he "marched his forces towards Muxadabad to demand the fulfilling of the treaty."²

It is the purpose of this short article to show who first broke the oath and took the aggressive in the events leading to the fateful battle of Plassey.

The treaty of Alinagar, as the agreement between the Nawab and the English was called, was signed on the 9th February, 1757, and it is not without significance that on that very day Clive wrote to Omichand, his favourite errand-boy in the negotiations which were being carried on with Mir Jafar Khan and other secret enemies of the Nawab, in the following terms, "I desire greatly to see you, and have many things to impart to you. If you can come to me for a short time you may do it with safety. No harm shall happen to you and you shall be at liberty to return whenever you please in security."³

Hardly was the ink of the treaty dry than the English began to think of violating its terms as would be evident from the letter of Clive and Kilpatrick to the Select Committee, dated the 12th February, 1757, urging on the Committee to force better terms from the Nawab and the appointment of an agent and representative of the E. I. Company in the Court of the Nawab, who "might be of great use in many matters both public and private which cannot be so properly done in writing". Further, it is evident from the instructions which the Select Committee on the 16th February, 1757, forwarded to Mr. Watts who was sent as envoy to the Court of the Nawab that the English wanted much more than what was contained in the treaty and they

¹ Hill: The Indian Records Series, Bengal, Vol. II, p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, p. 462.

³ Hill: The Indian Records Series, Bengal, Vol. II, p. 219.

accordingly must share the responsibility of violating the treaty in spirit, if not in letters, from the very beginning.¹ As Hill points out in the Bengal Records, Mr. Watts had not merely to obtain the fulfilment of the treaty, but also to contrive the Nawab's acceptance of several articles which, if they had been touched on at all, were not included in the actual treaty.² The selection of Mr. Watts as the English envoy in the Court of the Nawab was not without significance. He was made a prisoner by the Nawab after the English surrendered to him the factory at Cossimbazar and as such he exploited to the full the opportunities which he obtained in the Murshidabad Court to plan the ruin of the Nawab in the most unscrupulous manner. He it was who goaded Clive and Watson to attack the French in Chandanagar, though by the treaty of Alinagar the English had solemnly bound themselves "to live in good understanding with the Nawab" so as to maintain peace and friendship.

Much has been made of the two private letters, which the Nawab had written to Watson and Clive, containing the words, "As long as I have life I shall esteem your enemies as enemies to me".³ But it should be recognised that the Nawab from the very beginning refused to be a party to any proposal of the English to exterminate the French power in Bengal.⁴ It is also remarkable that immediately after the Nawab had any knowledge of the hostile designs of the English on the French in Bengal, he protested to both Clive and Watson on the 19th February, i.e., only ten days after the treaty of Alinagar was signed in a letter which deserves quotation. "To put an end to the hostilities in my country and dominions I consented and agreed to the Treaty of Peace with the English, that trade and commerce might be carried on as formerly to which treaty you have agreed, and a firm accommodation between us is settled and established. You have likewise sent me an agreement under your own hand and seal not to disturb the tranquillity of my country, but it now appears that you have a design to besiege the French Factory near Hooghly and to commence hostilities against that nation. This is contrary to all rule and custom that you should bring your animosities and differences into my country."⁵

The presence of English ships of war in the river and the arrival of new ones when the English were supposed to be in peace were

¹ Hill—The Indian Records Series, Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 222-23.

² *Ibid.*,—Vol. I, p. CLX.

³ Hill,—Vol. II, p. 220 and p. 230.

⁴ *Ibid.*,—Vol. I, p. CXLIX.

⁵ *Ibid.*,—Vol. II, p. 230.

naturally taken exception to by the Nawab who in letters to Clive and Watson dated the 19th and 20th February made his position absolutely clear saying, "If you are sincere in the treaty concluded with me, send your ships of war out of the river, and abide steadfastly by your agreement. I will not fail in the observance of the treaty on my part. Is it becoming or honest to begin a war after concluding the peace so lately and solemnly? The Mahrattas are bound by no gospel, yet they are strict observers of treaties. It will, therefore, be a matter of great astonishment, and hard to be believed, if you who are enlightened with the Gospel, should not remain firm, and preserve the treaty you have ratified in the presence of God and of Jesus Christ."¹

Watson's reply to the above letter was evasive and made no direct answer to the charges made by the Nawab in his letter of the 20th February.

Events were proceeding quickly. Siraj-ud-daula was naturally anxious to check the reported advance of the Delhi army to his territories and asked for the assistance of British forces in exchange for a lakh of rupees for each day of their service. This gave Watson his opportunity for harassing the Nawab with demands which it was difficult for him to comply with within the time dictated by the English. In a letter to the Nawab he arrogantly declared, "If you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace, and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint; otherwise, remember you must answer for the consequences. In a few days more I shall despatch a vessel for more ships and more troops, and that will kindle such a flame in your country as all the water of the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish."²

In writing in these terms to Siraj and in giving him only ten days for the fulfilment of the treaty Watson was behaving in a high-handed and provoking manner. There was no time limit for working out the stipulations made in the treaty of Alinagar. And to ask the Nawab within a few weeks of the signing of the treaty to fulfil his obligations within ten days was merely a pretext to embarrass the Nawab when he was faced with danger from different quarters. Siraj in courteous and dignified language explained the causes of the delay in the execution of the treaty during the Hooly festival and reminded the British of the ancient custom by which the Europeans had bound themselves

¹ Hill—Vol II. p. 230-231.

² Ives—"Voyages", p. 124.

not to commit hostilities within the Ganges or in the provinces of which he was the Subadar.

In reply to Siraj-ud-daula's sincere request for the help of the English troops Watson in a sarcastic manner declared that before any help could be given to the Nawab, Chandannagar had to be occupied by the English who would thus secure themselves from any apprehensions from that quarter and would then assist the Nawab with every man in their power and go with him even to Delhi, if he so desired.¹

Watson, in fact, was determined on capturing Chandannagar and refused to sign any agreement with the French deputies who had been specially commissioned to negotiate a treaty of mutuality with the English in Bengal, and he was equally anxious to precipitate hostilities with the Nawab as would be evident from his letter to the Select Committee dated the 3rd March, 1757.²

Meanwhile, Mr. Watts was successful in his attempt to corrupt the officers of the Nawab's Darbar, and by a handsome present of money to his first Secretary he produced a letter from the Nawab to Watson on the 10th March, which might be interpreted to signify the Nawab's consent to the English attack on the French in Chandannagar.³ The English lost no time in making an attack on Chandannagar which Clive justified by the statement that while he would assist the Nawab against the Delhi army with pleasure, it would be dangerous to leave such enemies as the French in the rear; and it would be better to dispose of them first and that he would wait at Chandannagar for instructions. The capture of Chandannagar which followed was of immense importance to the British. It broke the power of the French in Bengal and left the way clear for the final settlement with the Nawab.⁴

It will be apparent from the above that the terms of the treaty of Alinagar were not broken by Siraj, but by the English who by attacking Chandannagar and leading their forces through the Nawab's territories had ravaged his territories and had committed a breach of laws observed by nations all over the world.

The success of the English made them more audacious and a demand was made by Clive on Siraj-ud-daula on the 28th March calling upon the Nawab to deliver up to the English the persons and effects of the French at Cossimbazar and their other out-settlements.⁵ The English were in fact making fresh demands on the Nawab knowing

¹ Ives's "Voyages", p. 175.

² Hill Vol. II, pp. 268-70.

³ Scrafton—"Reflections", pp. 74-75.

⁴ Hill Vol. I, p. CLXXIV.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 304.

full well that it would not be possible for him to comply with them. Their only object was to have fresh pretexts of quarrelling with the Nawab. That the Nawab had faithfully executed his part of the treaty of Alinagar is admitted even by Clive who in his letter to the Select Committee, dated the 30th March, says, "He has fulfilled most of the Articles of the treaty made with us . . . and I make little doubt that all his engagements will be duly executed."¹

But the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty by the Nawab was not to the interest of the British. Mr. Watts at Cossimbazar was determined on picking up new grounds for affront. The machinations and methods adopted by him to extort fresh concessions from the Nawab on the plea of French affairs caused resentment even of Admiral Watson. But says Mr. Hill, "Those were the days in which even the most honourable men were convinced of the necessity of trickery and chicanery in politics and were therefore accustomed to give their tacit consent to actions which they would not commit themselves."²

Siraj-ud-daula, true to his sense of honour, refused to deliver the French factories to the English without the consent of the French in spite of importunate requests of Clive as contained in his letter to the Nawab dated the 8th March.³

Unable to make the Nawab agree to dishonourable methods, Clive on the 10th March accused the Nawab of his failure to execute some of the provisions of the treaty of Alinagar. However, for the satisfaction of the parties of the treaty Siraj ordered Mr. Law and other French men at Cossimbazar to leave Murshidabad. His intention will be clear from the letter he wrote to Nanda Kumar, the Fauzdar of Hugli, on the 23rd April, in which he explained that "it is not the custom of the head of the kingdom of Hindustan to bind and deliver up the weak, because by so doing I shall have a bad name through the whole world. Nevertheless, I have turned Mr. Law away from hence, and wrote expressly wherever I may have any authority that they should not suffer them to abide there, but send them to the other side of the river Carmnasar" (i.e., the boundary westward of the Nawab's dominions).⁴

The tragedy of the situation was that while Clive and the English were cajoling the Nawab with all sorts of sweet words, he and his agents considered that they could not gain their ends so long as

¹ Hill, Vol. II, p. 308.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. CLXXVI.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 318-19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 355.

Siraj-ud-daula was on the throne and were actually negotiating with Mir Jafar Khan and other powerful potentates to bring about his ~~rain~~. On the 24th April Clive wrote to the Nawab, "I can solemnly swear that I bear the best intentions towards you and your Government... What passed before the Treaty of Peace is entirely forgot on our part, as if it had never happened and I persuade myself from Your Excellency's good sense and justice that it is the same with you".¹ Again on the 2nd May Clive wrote to Siraj, "I desire nothing so much as to live in peace and friendship with you and to make your kingdom flourish", etc.² While Siraj-ud-daula was thus sought to be "lulled into perfect security", to quote the words of Macaulay, Clive at the same time sent a letter through the same carrier to Mr. Watts in the following terms, "Tell Mir Jafar to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left". In the same letter Clive was shameless enough to confess, "I have wrote to the Nawab a soothing letter"; but he in that very letter urged on Mr. Watts "to enter upon business with Mir Jafar as soon as you please".³

We need not enter into the sordid arrangements that were made with Mir Jafar which really "turned the Subadar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa into a mediatised Indian ruler".⁴ With the starting of negotiations with the traitors we find a definite change in the tone of Clive's letters to the Nawab. On the 14th May Clive intimidated the Nawab with hostile action in certain circumstances.⁵ On the 5th June negotiations with Mir Jafar were completed when he gave his signature to the document which was conveyed to him by Mr. Watts who went to Mir Jafar's place in a closed *dooly*, lest he should be detected by the Nawab's officers. All arrangements being completed, Watts and his companions fled from Murshidabad on the 12th June and on the very next day Clive wrote to the Nawab charging him with his failure to fulfil the terms of the treaty of Alinagar and threatening him that he would proceed immediately with his army to Cossimbazar and submit their disputes to the arbitration of Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh, Jagat Seth and others.⁶ Clive would not even wait for an answer to his letter but started immediately. On the 15th June the Nawab

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 356.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 372.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 372-73.

⁴ Sarkar—History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 486.

⁵ Hill, Vol. II, p. 380.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

wrote to Clive informing him of the flight of Mr. Watts "with the deceitful design and intention to break the treaty". "I thank God"; he declared, "that the treaty has not been broken on my part, as it was so solemnly sworn to before God and his Prophet. He will doubtless punish him who has first violated it."¹ But what was God's judgment? That is now a matter of history.

[Read at the Indian History Congress, Cuttack, 1949.]

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS AT PATNA

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The Indian Philosophical Congress held its last session at Patna during Christmas week. I was privileged to attend the session, and I seek to convey an impression of the Congress through this short article.

I got down from the train at Patna junction on the morning of the 25th ultimo. As I was conducted through the station to the car waiting for me I began to feel that Patna was extremely cold. Then when I was driven along the streets I found that Patna was a quiet city. I was put up in the Delegates' camp at Faraday House which is a college hostel situated in nice surroundings. This was far quieter than the other parts of the city I passed through in the morning. Coming as I did from Calcutta, a city of din and bustle, the silence of the place was soothing to my nerves. I settled down there. And, as the session of the Congress was to commence on the day following, in the afternoon I walked round the place and was delighted to find that it was not only calm and quiet, but also beautiful. The whole University area with clean broad metalled roads, spacious buildings, in-between open spaces, green trees, bright flower beds and the holy Ganges running by in front made a sight worth seeing. The welcome cold of the winter, the charming scenery, the rich dishes we had *cum* the care and attention the volunteers bestowed upon us all made our stay there, brief as it was, highly enjoyable.

When we met in the Congress my first impression was that after all we were Indians. Philosophers and students of philosophy from all over the country assembled together there. Each provincial group indeed had its native tongue, and different persons were differently dressed. But all this difference was superficial and could not hide the unity of us as Indians.

I, however, marked one special fact. It was that we could not yet dispense with English. In the Congress the medium employed was English. That we could meet and discuss together high themes and come into personal contact with one another was obviously made possible by the English language as our *lingua franca*. And I wondered how long it will take to replace English by an Indian tongue.

If at all possible, I think it will take, not a decade or a quarter of a century, but more than a century. That in high all-India cultural conferences we cannot do without English is itself a strong argument in support of English to be retained as India's common language. Some time ago in some issue of the "Statesman" I tried to make out that English is an Indian language. This is somewhat a paradox and is explained by the fact that Anglo-Indians are an important Indian community and that their mother tongue is English. But the point is not much appreciated. If we are all Indians irrespective of caste, creed, religion and community, I cannot see how English can be at all alien to us. English is already well established in the country and has proved eminently useful, nay, indispensable to us. For my part I feel that it is no good disturbing the *status quo* in so far as the *lingua franca* is concerned. The difficulty is that we often speak of a national language, but mean the language of the majority as the common medium. We then do not mean what we say. We often talk big, but in practice we remain rather inclined to narrow policies.

Now as to the Congress itself. It had a three-day session. There were general and sectional meetings. Very many important and interesting papers were read and discussions on high philosophical problems were held. As I sat through the sittings morning and evening I got the sense of a unity far deeper than the national unity. I felt that we were there out to determine the truth of things. This is the special privilege enjoyed by us as rational beings. And I was really inspired by the idea that we were all comrades in a common pursuit—the quest of reality.

Some think that philosophy is idle talk and has no use for anybody. That is perhaps why the Press and the public take little notice of the Philosophical Congress and the discourses held there. As we find, in our country the emphasis is being increasingly laid upon science. Consequently, the Science Congress is much publicized, the idea being that only science can work out our salvation. There is no doubt that this is an age of science and in order that we keep pace with all the other nations we urgently need technological experts to guide our industrial development. And for that we look to science. But there is a thing like culture. Culture, in short, relates to the inner aspect of a nation. So if science ministers to the body of a nation, philosophy which is concerned with the ultimate nature of everything ministers to a nation's inner being. If we are not mere body, but

CAUSERIE ON LETTERS

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If great letters as indicated already are the results of an intensely felt emotion, idea or experience it stands to reason that they must have been written under the influence of the three great visions of life—the vision of love, the vision of patriotism, the vision of religion. We have dwelt upon the epistolary expressions evoked by the vision of love. Let us turn now to the letters provoked by the vision of patriotism, composed sometimes under the stresses of political martyrdom or martyrdom to an idea, a creed, a concatenation of circumstances. Letters written by persons on the eve of their death, living under the shadow of a sentence of execution shortly expected to be carried out have often been revelation of their naked souls and have served as beacon lights to succeeding generations. John Brown, the fanatical agitator for abolition of slavery in America, in his farewell letter to his family written the night before his execution stated, "I am waiting the hour of my public murder with great composure of the mind." It is a letter that reveals the man and evokes respect even from his opponents who disagreed with his impetuous and impatient ways of realising his aims. When at twenty-eight Dostoevsky along with a group of comrades was arrested and tried as a conspirator and sentenced to death, only a few moments before the hour set for execution he learned that the death sentence was commuted to transportation. Those few seconds in which Dostoevsky hung between life and death left their profound marks and those are vividly represented in an extraordinary letter written to his brother a day later. It is a poignant but brave letter breathing every line of it love of the family and fatherland, love of writing and love of life in art and it illustrates those famous lines of Lovelace

"Stones walls do not a prison make,

Nor iron bars a cage."

Dostoevsky's letter is too long to be quoted.

The infamous political frame-up of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case is one of the dark spots of modern American history. Two obscure immigrants, one a fish peddler and the other a shoemaker became symbols of sacrifice to blind or blundering justice which roused world-wide interest. The famous American left-wing novelist Upton Sinclair devoted a novel to it. His "Boston" is a spirited and carefully documented record of the incidents and history of this case which led to two judicial murders. The complete record of the case is published in six large volumes and completely proves the innocence of the two executed men. Vanzetti's letter to the son of his fellow martyr Sacco on the eve of his execution is written by this illiterate Italian idealist in stumbling but beautiful sentences :

"August 21, From the
Death House of Massachusetts,
State Prison.

My Dear Dante,

I still hope, and we will fight until the last moment, to revindicate our right to live and to be free, but all the forces of the State and of the money and reaction are deadly against us because we are libertarians or anarchists.

I write little of this because you are now and yet too young to understand these things and other things of which I would like to reason with you.

But, if you do well, you will grow and understand your father's and my case and your father's and my principles, for which we will soon be put to death.

I tell you now all I know of your father; he is not a criminal, but one of the bravest men I ever knew. Some day you will understand what I am about to tell you. That your father has sacrificed every thing dear and sacred to the human heart and soul for his fate (faith) in liberty and justice for all. That day you will be proud of your father, and if you come brave enough, you will take his place in the struggle between tyranny and liberty and you will vindicate his (our) names and our blood.

If we have to die now, you shall know, when you will be able to understand this tragedy in its fullest, how good and brave your father has been with you, your father and I during these eight years of struggle, sorrow, passion, anguish and agony: (For seven years these two men languished in jail after arrest.)

Even from now you shall be good, brave with your mother, with Ines, and with Sufia—brave good Susie (She was Mrs. Socco's faithful friend)—and do all you can to console and help them.

I would like you to also remember me as a comrade and friend to your father, your mother and Ines, Susie and you, and I assure you that neither have I been a criminal, that I have committed no robbery and no murder, but only fought modestly to abolish crimes from among mankind and for the liberty of all.

Remember, Dante, each one who will say otherwise of your father and I, is a liar, insulting innocent dead men who have been brave in their life. Remember and know also, Dante, that if your father and I would have been cowards and hypocrite and rinnegetors of our faith, we would not have been put to death. They would not even have convicted a labbrous dog; not even executed a deadly poisoned scorpion on such evidence as that they framed against us. They would have given a new trial to a matricide and abitual felon on the evidence we presented for a new trial.

Remember, Dante, remember always these things, we are not criminals; they convicted us on a frame-up; they denied us a new trial; and if we will be executed after seven years, four months and seventeen days of unspeakable tortures and wrong, it is for what I have already told you; because we were for the poor and against the exploitation and oppression of the man by the man.

The documents of our case, which you and others will collect and preserve, will prove to you that your father, your mother, Ines, my family and I have sacrificed by and to a State Reason of the American Plutocratic reaction.

The day will come when you will understand the atrocious cause of the above written words in all its fulness. Then you will honour us.

Now, Dante, be brave and good always. I embrace you.

P. S. I left the copy of *An American Bible* to your mother now, for she will like to read it and she will give it to you when you will be bigger and able to understand it. Keep it for remembrance. It will also testify to you how good and generous Mrs. Gertrude Winslow has been with us. Good-bye, Dante.

Bartolomeo."

Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603 wrote a farewell letter to his wife a few hours before he expected to be executed. It is marked by Shakespearean eloquence. In this letter he reaffirmed the sentiments about death expressed by him in his "History of the World". "It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself." This man who stood in that age as the classic type of courtier, historian, explorer and foreign adventurer wrote this letter in a spirit full of Christian resignation and a fighter's dignity. In the letter he affirmed, "I am but dust" and told his wife "The great God that ruleth all in all, but if you live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself upon Him, and therein you shall finde true and lasting riches, and endlesse comfort; for the rest when you have travailed and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall but sit downe by sorrowe in the end."

(4)

From these letters written by men under the shadow of death let us pass on to letters of condolence, written often in a characteristic way and throwing a flood of light upon the temper and character of their writers as much as the previous types of letters just referred to. There is Dickens' letter to his wife on the death of their infant daughter; there is Franklin's letter to a kinsman on the death of his brother; there is Abraham Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Bixley on the death of her son and there is Kaiser Wilhelm's letter of condolence to a bereaved mother on the death of her sons in the World War I. In 1939 appeared an edition of "Ten Thousand Letters of Charles Dickens" containing "the tears, the laughter, the daemonic drive of the man. The letters that he wrote to his wife informing her of the death of their little daughter is the most poignant of all his letters. Here is the letter.

"Devonshire-terrace

Tuesday morning, 15th, April 1851.

My Dearest Kate—Now observe, you must read this letter very slowly and carefully. If you have hurried on thus far without quite understanding (apprehending some bad news) I rely on your turning back and reading again.

Little Dora, without being in the least pain, is suddenly stricken ill. There is nothing in her appearance but perfect rest—you would suppose her quietly asleep, but I am sure she is very ill, and I cannot

encourage myself with much hope of her recovery. I do not (and why should I say I do to you, my dear?) I do not think her recovery at all likely.

I do not like to leave home, I can do no good here, but I think it right to stay. You will not like to be away, I know, and I cannot reconcile it to myself to keep you away. Forster, with the usual affection for us, come, down to bring you this letter and to bring you home, but I cannot close it without putting the strongest entreaty and injunction upon you to come with perfect composure—to remember what I have often told you, that we never can expect to be exempt, as to our many children, from the afflictions of other parents, and that if—if when you come I should even have to say to you, ‘our little baby is dead’ you are to do your duty to the rest, and to show yourself worthy of the great trust you hold in them.

If you will only read this steadily I have a perfect confidence in your doing what is right.

Ever affectionately,
Charles Dickens. ”

Benjamin Franklin’s letter to his kinsman on the death of his brother is an instance of a classic of compassion and reflects a mood not generally associated with the fame of Franklin. He writes in it, “A man is not completely born until he is dead. Why then should we grieve, that a new child is born among the immortals, a new member added to their happy society? And why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and know where to find him?”

Let us turn now to a letter of one of the most compassionate of men, one of the most quoted letters in American history. In the vast storehouse of Lincoln literature one can find many precious nuggets to illustrate the many-sided grandeur of this greatest of the great Americans but none in which the essential humanness of the most humane of men is better illustrated than this well-known letter of his to Mrs. Bixby. It is a letter in which the nobility of self-sacrifice for a great cause and of the consolation which the thought of a sacrifice so made should bring, is set forth with such simple and pathetic beauty. It has a Biblical simplicity and sublimity of great thought clothed in straightforward words: Mrs. Bixby had lost five of her sons in the Civil War on the side of the Union.

"Executive Mansion,
Washington, Nov., 21, 1864.

To

Mrs. Bixby, Boston, Mass.

Dear Madam,

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
A. Lincoln."

Let me put by its side another letter written by Kaiser Wilhelm to a mother whose nine sons had fallen on the battlefield in the World War I. He writes: "His Majesty the Kaiser hears that you have sacrificed nine sons in defence of the Fatherland in the present war. His Majesty is immensely gratified at the fact, and in recognition is pleased to send you his photograph with frame and autograph signature." The two letters in their styles and sentiments reveal the characters of the two writers. Comments are superfluous.

(5)

The vision of religion has given us some striking letters like those of the "God-intoxicated". Spinoza and his former pupil Albert Burgh to each other, Saint Paul to the Corinthians, the younger Pliny to Emperor Trajan, Voltaire to Boswell, and Huxley to Kingsley. Each of these is stirring and reveals the subtlety of the human intelligence and its efforts to prove the mystery of man's why, whence and and whither. Huxley wrote a letter to Kingsley on the occasion of his little son's death. Huxley examined the arguments for immortality in this soul-searching letter of his. It is a rare outburst at a moment of intense feeling in which intellectual clearness and moral fire are to be seen united in a passion for truth. The man who coined the term "agnostic" here defends a free man's first principles. The letter was

written the year after the publication of that epoch-making book "The Origin of Species." The letter sets forth the grounds of Huxley's philosophy as to the ends of life and hopes of immortality and affords insight into the very depths of his nature. This courageous and clear utterance is a classic statement of the scientists' attitude towards free inquiry and unshackled search for truth. The scientific mind is not so much antagonistic to religion as is sometimes alleged. After all the man of science and the man of religion both are in quest of truth and truth is one. Huxley's letter is too long to be quoted.

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Another class of letters can be described as letters of controversy, hatred, enmity, polemical retort etc. The famous letter of Dr. Johnson to Lord Chesterfield is a model of rebuke, a fine specimen of his style at its best and his stern independent character at its highest and the man who received his most stinging blows acknowledged it as "very well written" in private comments. Chesterfield showed himself a good sportsman in acknowledging and appreciating the effectiveness of Johnson's well-aimed verbal bullets.

From this personal well administered retort of a stern English man of letters we turn to a well administered rebuke by a vitrollic great French man of letters about a public scandal that stirred his sense of justice. Zola's open letter to the President of the French Republic "*J'accuse*" is undoubtedly one of the most terrible denunciations in all history. The *cause célèbre* of the *Affaire Dreyfus* shook France at the end of the last century. Zola never met the man on whose behalf he wrote the letter nor did he know personally the men he accused. He risked everything for an abstract principle. The title for this letter was supplied by another stormy petrel of French politics, Georges Clemenceau.

"T'accuse".

January, 1898.

"Mr. President,

Permit me, I beg you, in return for the gracious favours you once accorded me, to be concerned with regard to your just glory and to tell you that your record so fair and fortunate thus far is now threatened with the most shameful, the most inefaceable blot.

You escaped safe and sane from the basest calumnies, you conquered all hearts. You seem radiant in the glory of a patriotic celebration

....and are preparing to preside over the solemn triumph of our Universal Exposition, which is to crown our great century of work, truth and liberty. But what a clod of mud is flung upon your name—I was about to say your reign—through this abominable Dreyfus affair. A court martial has but recently, by order, dared to acquit one Esterhazy—a supreme slap at all truth, all justice !’ And it is done ; France has this brand upon her visage ; history will relate that it was during your administration that such a social crime could be committed.

Since they have dared, I too shall dare. I shall tell the truth because I pledged myself to tell it if justice, regularly empowered, did not do so, fully, unmitigatedly. My duty is to speak ; I have no wish to be an accomplice. My nights would be haunted by the spectre of the innocent being, expiating under the most frightful torture, a crime he never committed.

And it is to you, Mr. President, that I shall out this truth, with all the force of my revolt as an honest man. To your honour, I am convinced that you are ignorant of the crime. And to whom, then, shall I denounce the malignant rabble of true culprits, if not to you, the highest magistrate of the country ?

I accuse Colonel du Paty de Clam of having been the diabolical agent of the judicial error, unconsciously, I prefer to believe, and of having continued to defend his deadly work during the past three years through the most absurd and revolting machinations.

I accuse General Mercier of having made himself an accomplice in one of the greatest crimes of history, probably through weak-mindedness.

I accuse General Billot of having had in his hands the decisive proofs of the innocence of Dreyfus and of having concealed them, and of having rendered himself guilty of the crime of lèse humanity and lèse justice, out of political motives and to save the face of the General Staff.

I accuse General Boisdeffre and General Gouse of being accomplices in the same crime, the former no doubt through religious prejudice, the latter, out of *esprit de corps*.

I accuse General Pellieux and Major Ravery of having made a scoundrelly inquest, I mean an inquest of the most monstrous partiality, the complete report of which composes for us an imperishable monument of naïve effrontery.

I accuse the three handwriting experts MM. Belhomme, Varinard, and Conard, of having made lying and fraudulent reports, unless a medical examination will certify them to be deficient of sight and judgment.

I accuse the War office of having led a vile campaign in the press, particularly in *L'Eclair* and *L'Echo de Paris*, in order to misdirect public opinion and cover up its sins.

I accuse, lastly, the first court martial of having violated all human right in condemning a pensioner on testimony kept secret from him, and I accuse the second court martial of having covered up this illegality by order, committing in turn the judicial crime of acquitting a guilty man with full knowledge of his guilt.

In making these accusations I am aware that I render myself liable to articles 30 and 31 of Libel Law of July 29, 1881, which punish acts of defamation. I expose myself voluntarily.

As to the men I accuse, I do not know them, I have never seen them, I feel neither resentment nor hatred against them. For me they are only entities, emblems of social malfeasance. The action I take here is simply a revolutionary step designed to hasten the explosion of truth and justice.

I have one passion only, for light, in the name of humanity which has borne so much and has a right to happiness. My burning protest is only the cry of my soul. Let them dare, then, to carry me to the court of appeals, and let there be an inquest in the full light of the day!

I am waiting.

Mr. President, I beg you to accept the assurances of my deepest respect.

Emile Zola."

Zola was promptly brought to trial, charged with criminal libel. In the farcical trial he was not permitted to bring the relevant facts regarding the Dreyfus case on the record, and was sentenced to a term of imprisonment and fine.

Trotsky's open letter to Jules Guesde, a former French socialist comrade who had turned a renegade to the socialist cause in 1916 is perhaps one of the most brilliant examples of polemic scorn in the whole history of letterwriting. Thomas Mann's letter to the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Bonn in 1937 who informed him that his name was struck off its roll of honorary doctors and Lion Feuchtwanger's letter (the author of *Judge Suss*) to Mr. X

who occupied his confiscated house under Nazi régime are two very trenchant and powerful indictments of the Nazi nightmare under Hitler. Non-conformist minister, scientist, politician Joseph Priestley was an uncompromising dissenter both in chemical research and religion. He made things hard for himself by his unorthodox views and bold way of proclaiming them. He opposed Burke's popular views on the French Revolution. Incensed at his heresy the jingoes of Birmingham burned his house and chapel to the ground, demolished his laboratory, sacked his library, destroying priceless and irreplaceable manuscript. Immediately after this shocking act of vandalism Priestley addressed an open letter to his fellow citizens of Birmingham which breathed defiance and expressed the indomitable spirit of this fearless fighter for truth as he saw it. To quote some sentences from this letter : "When the *object* was right you thought the *means* could not be wrong....In *destroying* us, you have been led to think, *you did God* and your country the most substantial *service*....In this business we are the sheep and you are the wolf. We will preserve our character, and hope you will yours. At all events we return you blessings for curses."

William Strahan was a friend of Benjamin Franklin between whom letters were exchanged for fifteen years. Strahan was the printer of Johnson's Dictionary and the works of Hume, Adam Smith, Gibbon and Blackstone. He was a member of the Parliament which voted for measures that led eventually to the American War of Independence. The following is a letter that was composed but never sent by Franklin to Strahan.

"Philad" July 5, 1775.

Mr. Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction.—You have begun to burn our Towns and murder our People. —Look upon your hands —They are stained with the Blood of your Relations —You and I were long friends :—You are now my Enemy—and

I am,
Yours,
B. Franklin.

This letter was written in white heat indignation. Let us analyse it. One plain sentence of statement, another of hard accusation, then the third and suddenly throbbed with strong feeling and a bitter image. But the moment of lyrics anger passed and Franklin tempered his last sentence with his deft double entente conclusion.

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To conclude this enjoyable excursion in the realm of letter-writing here are three amusing letters.

"To Winston Churchill

Mount Vernon, New York.

Oct., 16, 1921.

My Dear Sir and Your People,

Don't you know that it is an act of adultery to kill, eat, or slay, or drive cattle?

Don't you know that the cattle want to live the same as you do?

C. Anton B. Birnell."

Bill Nye won nation-wide fame by the following letter. He was an unknown newspaperman who was offered the postmastership of a small town and this is the letter that he wrote to the chief of the Department.

"Office of *Daily Boomrang*, Larmi
City, Wy.

August 9, 1882.

My Dear General,

I have received by telegraph the news of my nomination by the President and my confirmation by the Senate, as postmaster at Larmie, and wish to extend my thanks for the same.

I have ordered an entirely new set of boxes and post office outfit, including new corrugated cupsiders for the lady clerks.

I look upon the appointment, myself as a great triumph of eternal truth over error and wrong. It is one of the epochs, I may say, in the Nations' onward march towards political purity and perfection. I do not know when I have noticed any stride in the affairs of State which so thoroughly impressed me with its wisdom.

Now that we are co-workers in the same department I trust that you will not feel shy or backward in consulting me at any time relative to matters concerning post office affairs. Be perfectly frank with me, and feel perfectly free to just bring anything of that kind right to me. Do not feel reluctant because I may at times appear haughty and indifferent, cold or reserved. Perhaps you do not think I know the difference between a general delivery windows and a three-m quad, but that is a mistake. My general information is far beyond my years.

With profoundest regards, and a hearty endorsement of the policy of the President and the Senate, whatever it may be.

I remain, sincerely yours,

Bill Nye, P.M.

Gen. Frank Hatton, Washington, D. C."

Bill Nye became one of America's favourite humorists and he specialised in that form of humour which the Americans find irresistible. Readers of Babu Pichelal's escapades and reflections thereon which used to appear in the Illustrated Weekly of India will notice sincerity of tone and smug conceits. From this specimen of humoursome self-importance of an American minor State servant let us turn to a begging letter received by a Madras firm seeking a better clerical job.

"Honoured, and Illustrious Sir, you will please remember me as 5th grade clerk in this office, for which there is no scope to inflate, and after all my education in Madras University, where I passed B.A. in two sittings.

Now this mental effort demands greater area for abilities, but forsooth am doomed with unlucky star in firmament, and still serve unceasingly in grade 35-50, less income tax. This, Honoured Sir, can never be with qualifications, which are unbounded, must flow into mid-stream, where brains are measured by Rs. a. p. I have learned much, August Sir, and with tribulation, acquired arts knowing in science, such as 'the apple must fall to the ground' (Isaac Newton) I am also sitting this long time in spare evening vacation acquiring the glorious defunct language in Latin—viz., Abba Father and so forth.

Now Reverend Sir, I am, what dogs says to rat, in light corner, for domestic troubles come in plural and sometimes triplicate, causing slight earthquakes in Heavenly household where there is shortage of coin, and to add to this my wife doth bring me in annual incremental successions to the ramification of this generation, and by the Lord there's no end to this mischief.

You will therefore take notice, Noble Sir, and give me appointment in your office; where I shall show all things, including my abilities, which are drooping, and which will wither like fragile plant unless watered by your kind patronage in better job carrying more lucre.

Reply favourably to your humble petitioner, who is straining on beam end, and in duty bound I shall ever pray for long life on your honour's head.

I have the honour to remain, Honoured and Illustrious Sir, your most obedient servant."

THE MARITIME PEOPLES OF ANCIENT INDIA

PARESHOHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A.

(V)

RELATION OF INDIA WITH THE OTHER MARITIME NATIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD:

The close relations of India with some other important maritime nationals of the ancient world can be inferred from many notable evidences. The remains of the ancient gold-mining activities in India, particularly in the Deccan and in Manbhum may offer some new lights upon the subject.

In South India and in Chotanāgpur there are important traces of primitive mine-workings. These were first scientifically noted by Major Munn, Inspector of Mines to the Nizam of Hyderābād. He points out that the districts of Bellāry and Dhārwar are riddled with old workings for gold, copper and iron. A significant thing which attracted his attention was this that, the districts of South India which are studded with pre-historic dolmens (two or more unhewn stones supporting a large flattish stone) yielded the remains of archaic gold-mining activities. This fact has led Perry (*The Children of the Sun*) and other scholars to postulate that the dolmen-builders and the miners were the same people. Now, it is really very difficult to guess the identity of these ancient miners.² It is known that the Egyptians, the Elamites and the Phoenicians regularly sailed to India for gold. Elliot Smith (*The Origin of Civilisation*, pp. 102-3) probably hints that the sea-loving people of Memphis were responsible for the pre-historic mine-workings of India. From 3rd millenium B.C. onwards "...ships of Egyptian type are known to have trafficking in the Indian Ocean....." These vessels might have carried chiefly the gold-seekers. Further, it is known from the relief of the pyramid temple at Abusir that from the reign of Sahure, the second king of the fifth dynasty, the Egyptians were carrying on considerable foreign trade.

¹ Bhandarkar—Charmichael Lectures, 1919.

² The miners and the megalith builders were also probably the same people.

Some scholars may even identify the ancient miners with either the Oceanian Austrians or with the Dravidians. But all these are mere conjectures and they cannot be conclusive.

The commercial relation between India, Assyria and Babylonia is also probably known from the Baveru Jātaka and the relief of the palace of Asur Nasir Pal.¹ The sculptures represent the giving of monkey-tribute to the king of Assyria by two men (of black complexion but with pointed nose) wearing turban and "nāgrā" (shoes of upturned fashion). Olmstead cannot find out their nationality. But it seems to us that the persons are clearly Indians who as it is known regularly exported birds, monkeys and peacocks among other animals to the civilised states of Mesopotamia.

In the 6th century B.C. another great nation tried to maintain maritime relation with India. Thus, the Persians under Darius sailed their ships in the Arabian Sea and in the river passages of the Indus and her six affluents. From Herodotus (iv. 44) it is known that, before conquering the Punjāb the Akhaemenian emperor sent a naval squadron under an expert captain in order to explore the rivers of the Punjāb. It is said "of the greater part of Asia Darius was the discoverer. Wishing to know where the Indus (which is the only river save one that produces crocodiles) emptied itself into the sea, he sent a number of men, on whose truthfulness he could rely, and among them Scylāx of Carianda, to sail down the river. They started from the city of Caspatyrus, in the region called Pactyica, and sailed down the stream in an easterly direction to the sea. Here he turned westwards and after a voyage of 30 months, reached the place from which the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians to sail round Lybia. After this voyage was completed, Darius conquered the Indians, and made use of the sea in those parts. Thus, all Asia except the eastern portion, has been found to be similarly circumstanced with Lybia." Now, as Rawlinson points out the real course of the Indus is somewhat west of South. The error of Herodotus arose perhaps from the Cabul river being mistaken for the true Indus. If it is true, we will have to assume that the voyage of Scylax was not limited by the course of the Indus, but might also be embraced by other big and small tributaries of the Indus.

Apart from the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Elamites, and the Persians there were some other great maritime nations who came in close contact

¹ Olmstead—History of Assyria ; pp. 105-106. Fig. 59.

with India in the ancient days. The Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs colonised in the country in small or large numbers by a natural process resulting in the fusion of a sea-faring spirit among the ancient Indians.

In the 4th century B.C. Alexander after conquering the Indian territories upto Hyphasis (Beas) retreated his several regiments through a newly made port,¹ under brave Clearchos. Later on in the 1st century A.D. when Hippulus discovered the monsoons a sort of brisk trade went on between India and the Hellenistic world. However, in this connection we may remember the words of Dr. R. D. Banerji, according to which "Like the European traders of the 16th century, the early Greek navigators of the Indian Ocean were more or less pirates and their nefarious activities on the western coast of India, combined with the apathy and lack of protection of Indian commerce on the part of the Indian monarchs very nearly destroyed that commerce".² The piratical activities in the Indian waters was probably afterwards continued by the instigation of the Scythian Mahākṣatrapas of South India, who wished to vanquish the rival Śātavāhanas in the commercial field. The Mauryya emperors, it seems, tried to free the Indian Ocean from the Greek Buccaneers. From Kauṭilya we learn that the Mauryya Nāvādhyakṣas (admirals) were responsible for the destruction of "Himsṛkas," which were possibly none other than the pirate-ships.²

We have evidences about the fact that in the past days the Greek sailors very intimately mixed with the Indian sailors. Otherwise, how could they know the romantic and mythical accounts about the "Golden peninsula" (Chryse Chersonesos) i.e., the entire Further India. According to an earlier view, the Byzantine Greeks of Asia-Minor founded a colony in South India, which was mentioned by the Periplus as Byzantium. But at present this view has been exploded and it is known that the name was nothing but a Greek transliteration of the Indian name "Vaijayanti" which was the headquarter of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi (see, the Nāsik inscription of the year 18; "Senāyam vejayantiye vijaya khadhāvārā.....etc.") and the capital of the Kadambas in the later days.

In this connection the history of the Indo-Greeks is also very interesting. It is known that the rival houses of Demetrios and

¹ This port "Alexander's Haven" has been identified by present scholars with Barbaricum of the Periplus. The latter, it is held, was "Alasanda" of Kauṭilya. Probably it was "not the question of building a new port, but giving a new name to an old port".

² Ibid, p. 145.

Eukratides always fought against each other in the Punjab and in Afghānisthān. In this long-drawn war they greatly used battle-ships. On Numismatic grounds scholars think that Antimachos Theos (possibly identical with Antimachos Nikephoros) who won a naval victory over his enemies, somewhere on the broad river of the Indus. The king struck coins with Poseidon (sea-god) type. The Triton type of coins of Yavana Hippostrators also bear a marine character.

The Romans also maintained an intimate maritime connection with early India as the witness of which still there remain numerous Roman coins in the coasts of India. Hoards of Roman coins have been discovered at Cānnānore (Naura of the Periplus), which was possibly a favourite port of the Romans. The Roman commerce was very brisk when Egypt became a Roman Province. The Romans immensely imported peppers, pearls, beryls and muslins from India. The growing luxury of the Empire so much led to the drainage of gold that Pliny in the 1st century A.D. deplored it in a most patriotic way. V. A. Smith observed that "the Roman aureus circulated in Southern India.....and Roman bronze small change, partly imported and partly minted at Madura, was commonly used in the Bazaars." The same scholar and some others even hold that the Romans formed colonies in Southern India.

Mannert, Ruelens and Walker think that at Muziris (Cranganore?) a temple was dedicated to Augustus. This view is based upon a rough sketch of an edifice marked "Templ Augusti" beside "Muziris" in the map of the Peutingerian tables. The Tāmil poems tell about Yavana wines, lamps and vases. The testimony is remarkably confirmed by the huge conical Roman vases at Pandicherry and other places during excavations. Smith points out that, the numerous bronze-vessels which are discovered in the Nilgiri Megalithic tombs are very similar to those known to have been produced in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era.

After the passing away of well-nigh several centuries the Muslimised Arabs turned their attention towards India. During the Caliphate of Umar in the year 15 A.H. (A.D. 636) the Arabs first launched their naval attacks on Tānah (mod. Thānā near Bombay) and Barwaḡ (Broach). From this time, onwards, the Arab fleet continued to raid As Sind and the other portions of India from the sea. The final conquest of Sind by the Arabs under Hajjaj (713 A.D.), which is narrated in the historical romance of the Chach-nama, Faṭh-Nāma or Ta'rikhi Hind-Wa-Sind is too well-known. As the result of this

victory the Arab soldiers got the possession of the cities like Multān, Alor, Brāhmanābād and Daibul. Thus, India was introduced with the maritime people of Arabia in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D. However, it should be noted that Ceylon also ("the island of rubies" and the "Serendip" of "The Arabian Nights") maintained maritime commerce with Arabia during these days. The attack of the Mids on a ship sent to Hajjaj by "the king of the island of the Rubies" it is told formed the "Cassus Belli" on the part of the Arabs to declare war against Sind, the territory of Dāhir.

Now, it will be marked that from the seventh century A.D. the Indian Ocean was ploughed by the vessels of the Arab "Naukhiya Naurikhas" or the sea-captains, who often colonised the coastal regions as it is testified by the Verevāl grant of Arjunādeva and also probably by the Sāmangadh inscription of the Rāṣṭrakuṭas. The Arabs during these days were not also lazy in the matter of colonising the Far-East. This is testified by ample evidences. Several locales of the adventures of Sindābād, who was the prototype of a typical Arab sailor during the Abbasid age, have been speculated in the scattered isles of the East-Indies. The migration of the pre-Islamic and the Islamic Arabs in large numbers in the Far-East is a significant occurrence in the history of South-East Asia. The Arab domination was practically complete after the death of Bra Vijaya V, in the 15th century. Although the Hindu kingdom of Bali still maintained her independence the greater portion of Indonesia was conquered by the adventurous sailors of Arabia by this time.

(Concluded).

EXCAVATIONS AT CHANDIDAS MOUND; NANOOR, DISTRICT BIRBHUM

K. G. GOSWAMI, M.A.

Lecturer, and Officer-in-charge of Excavations, Calcutta University.

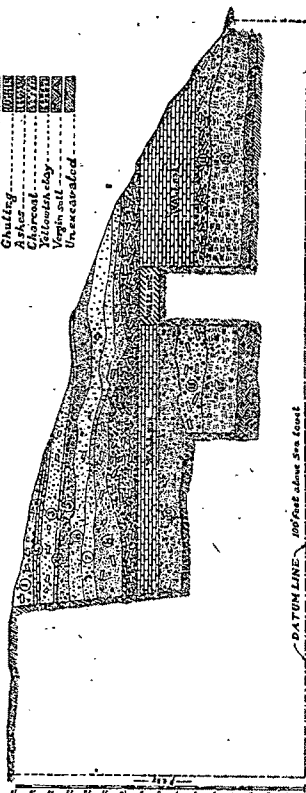
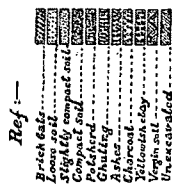
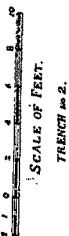
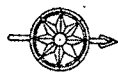
The mound of Nanoor which is associated with the hallowed memory of the mediaeval Bengali poet Chandidas occupies a prominent place in the Sadar (Suri) Sub-division of the Birbhum district. Birbhum is the northernmost district of the Burdwan Division. The principal town and administrative headquarters of the district is Suri. This district is a triangular tract of land with its apex towards the north. Birbhum is bounded on the north and the west by the Santal Parganas and Murshidabad, on the east by the districts of Murshidabad and Burdwan and on the south by Burdwan, the river Ajay forming the boundary between the two districts. Almost the entire area of the district consists of an undulating surface with a general trend from the north-west to the south-east.

The district is drained by a number of rivers and rivulets running generally from west to east with a slight southerly inclination. Of these the *Mor* and the *Ajay* are comparatively big. Besides these there are other smaller rivers, *viz.*, the *Hingla*, the *Bakreswar*, the *Bansloi*, the *Dvaraka*, the *Pagla*, the *Sal* and the *Kopa*, etc. Birbhum is a rice-producing district.

The modern district of Birbhum is formed partly of the tract of land known as *Rādha* and partly of *Vajjabhūmi*. According to the Jaina tradition, *Mahavira*, the last Tirthankara of the Jainas, wandered through these tracts (in the 6th century B.C.). From the ancient description it would seem that the eastern part of the district well watered by rivers, formed part of *Rādha*, while the western part consisting of the wilder and more rugged tract was aptly known as *Vajjabhūmi*. One of the oldest scriptures of the Jainas—the *Avangasutta* says that Mahavira “travelled in the pathless countries of the *Lādhas*, in *Vajjabhūmi* and *Subbhabhūmi*, he used here miserable beds and miserable seats. Even in the faithful part of the rough country the dogs bit him and ran at him; few people kept off the attacking, biting dogs. Striking the monk, they cried out *Chu-chu* and made the dogs bite him. Such were the inhabitants. Many other mendicants, eating rough food in *Vajjabhūmi* and carrying

TABLE 1

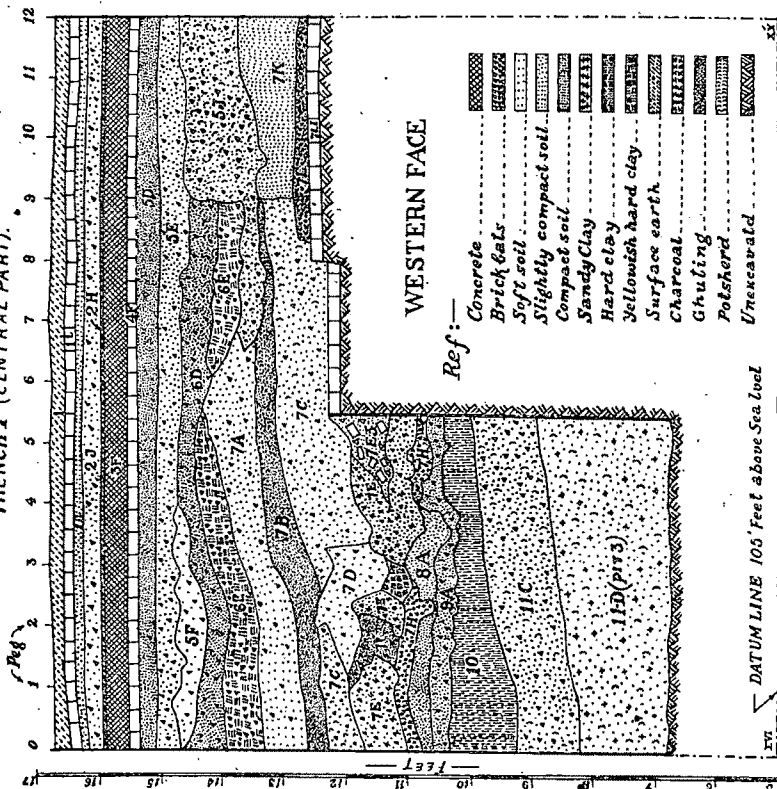
EXCAVATION AT CHANDIDAS MOUND, NANOOR.
DIST. BIRBHUM.



EXCAVATION AT CHANDIDAS MOUND, NANOR.
DIST. BIRBHUM.

DIST. BIRBHUM.

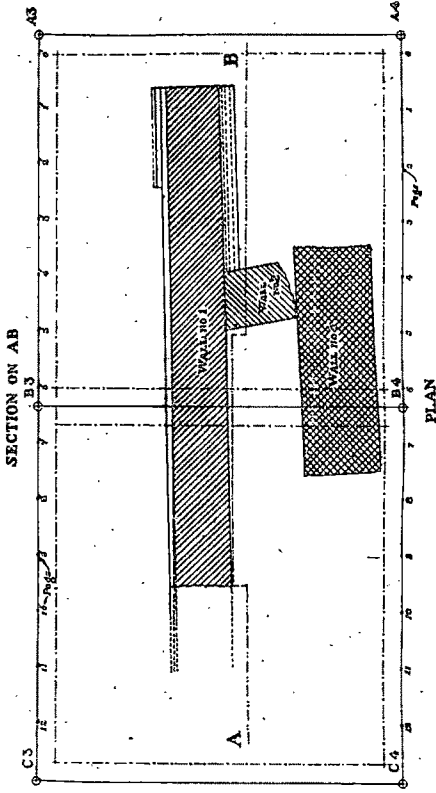
SCALE 1 INCH = 1 FOOT.
TRENCH 1 (CENTRAL PART).



WESTERN FACE

Ref:—

Concrete	0000000000
Brick bats	0000000000
Soft soil	0000000000
Slightly compact soil	0000000000
Compact soil	0000000000
Sandy Clay	0000000000
Hard clay	0000000000
Yellowish hard clay	0000000000
Surface earth	0000000000
Charcoal	0000000000
Ghuling	0000000000
Pekshord	0000000000
Unexcavated	0000000000



PLAN

(9)

(a)

about a strong pole lived there. Even thus armed, they were bitten by the dogs. It is difficult to travel in *Lādha*”. (J. A. S. B. 1908, pp. 285-86). In the Jaina *Pannavanā, Koṭivarisaṃ* (Koṭivārṣa) and *Lādha* are mentioned in connection with the *āriyas* or land of the Aryans (Ind. Ant. XX (1891) p. 375f). *Rādha* formed part of the territory ruled over by the Mauryas. Subsequently it formed part of the Gupta Empire and thereafter passed into the hands of *Sasanka* and *Harsavardhana*. After the dismemberment of Harsa's empire sufficient light cannot be thrown on the history of this part of the country for nearly two centuries. Later it was included in the Pala empire and continued as such till about the middle of 12th century, when the ownership passed to the Sena dynasty. *Jayadeva*, the composer of the famous lyric *Gītagovinda* who hailed from *Kenduli* on the Ajay in this district, was a court poet of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in the latter half of 12th century A.D.

In the 13th century A.D., the district passed, under the rule of the Muslims and according to some authorities, Lakhanor (or Lakhnūr) an important frontier post of the Muslim territory lay within its jurisdiction.

Vaiṣṇavism appears to have played an important part in successive ages in this district. The Vaiṣṇava poet Jayadeva, as mentioned above, was born at Kenduli or Kenduvilva of this district, and his *samādhi* place is also found there.

Then came *Chandidāsa*, who according to tradition, was born at Nanoor, the place which was recently excavated by Calcutta University. *Chandidāsa* was a poet of great fame, who composed charming lyric poems in Bengali in the post-Jayadeva and pre-Chaitanya age (c. 14th—15th cent. A.D.). It is said that Śrī Chaitanya was very much interested in his poems and took great pleasure in hearing the recitation of those poems. *Chandidāsa* as his name signifies was probably a *Śākta* by birth, but was converted to *Vaiṣṇavism*. His lyrics mainly extol the love affairs of *Kṛiṣṇa* and *Rādha*.

In succeeding period another *Vaiṣṇava* preacher—*Nityānanda*—one of the contemporaries and chief associate of Chaitanya was born at *Garbhāvās* near Birchandrapur in this district.

Besides Nanoor, there is a number of historically important sites in the district. The following ones among others may be mentioned:—

(1) *Pāikod*, where a stone inscription of Chedi king Karna (c. 11th century A.D.) was discovered by Śrī Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya. Evidences of old stone images and ancient ruins are found here.

(2) *Duvrajpur* in Suri Sub-division 14 miles to the South west of Suri is the find spot of a number of copper cast coins and possesses an extensive ancient mound.

(3) *Sidhal*—near Ahmadpur Ry. Station supposed to be the birth-place of *Bhavadeva Bhāṭṭa* (identified with Siddhala mentioned in *Bhavadeva-prasasti* (Ep. Ind. VI, p. 203-7)—contains ancient mounds.

(4) *Bakreswar*—a village about 6 miles to the north of Duvrajpur, contains ancient mounds. An image of *Āstādasabhuja* (18-handed) *mahisamardini* is found here.

(5) *Tārāpur* and (6) *Lābpur* are regarded as ancient *pithasthānas* or places of Tantric importance.

(7) *Bhīmgarh* in Suri Sub-division, 6 miles south west of Duvrajpur close to the banks of the Ajay is the site of an old fort.

(8) *Garbhāvās*, birth place of Nityananda (the chief associate of Chaitanya) and place of pilgrimage where a big fair is held every year in honour of Nityananda.

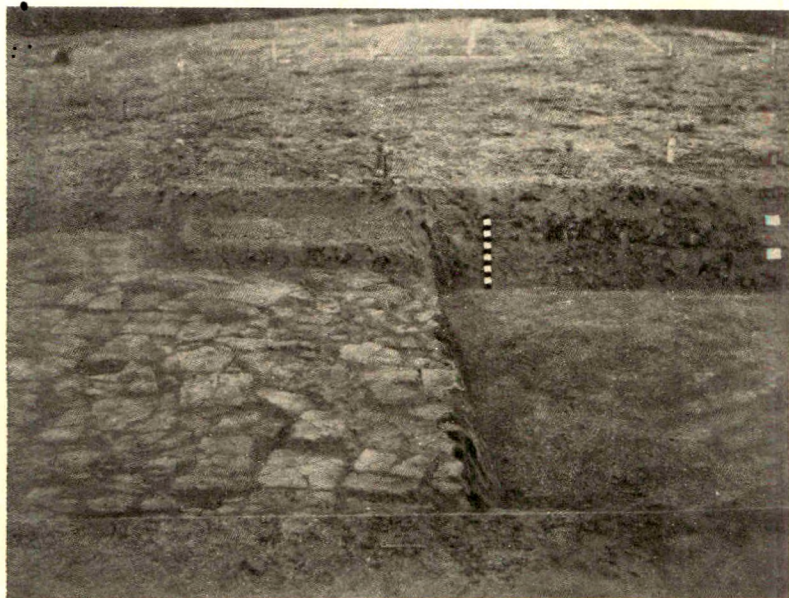
(9) *Viranagar* in Rampurhat sub-division contains ruins of ancient habitation.

(10) *Kenduli* or *Kenduvilva*—birth and Samādhi-place of Jayadeva, the author of *Gitagovinda*, and one of the court poets of King Lakṣmanasena.

(11) *Virachandrapur*—called after the name of Virachandra, son of Nityananda, is also a place of importance.

Nanor is one of the early and prominent members of the above list. It forms a group in association with the village *Uchkaran* (which is about 3 miles from Nanor), *Kirnahar* (a business centre about 6 miles away) and such other places. Uchkaran and neighbouring villages show temples containing beautiful terracotta plaques of various Puranic and popular scenes. Some such plaques have been collected from these villages for the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University.* The existing two temples in front of the goddess *Viśālākṣī* at Nanor also contain terracotta plaques of the above description for decorative purposes. These plaques may be attributed to the 18th century A.D. The present site of the temple of *Viśālākṣī*

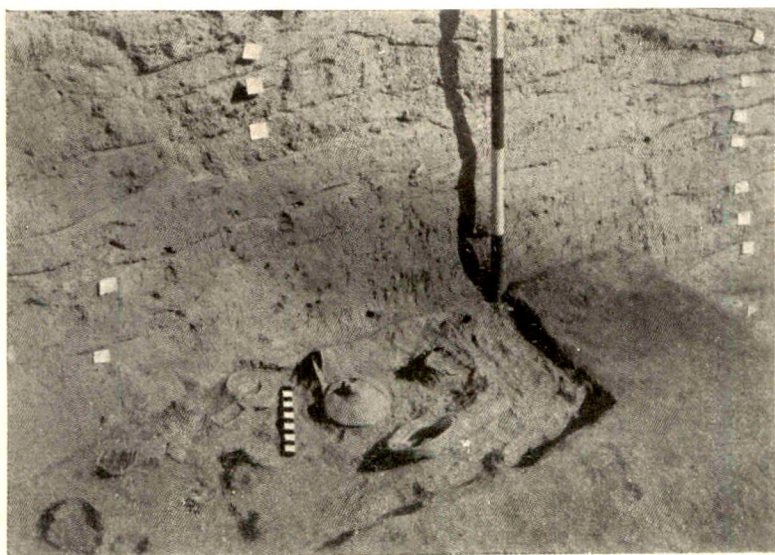
* Two of the nice terracotta plaques collected from Uchkaran represent two scenes from the *Ramayana*, one showing departure of Lakṣmana leaving Sita alone at the cottage in the forest before her abduction by Ravana and the other the presentation by Hanuman of Rama's ring to Sita as a token of his coming from Rama.



(a) View of Successive Floors, Tr. I



(b) View of Wall No. I, Tr. II



(a) Excavation in Progress, Tr. I



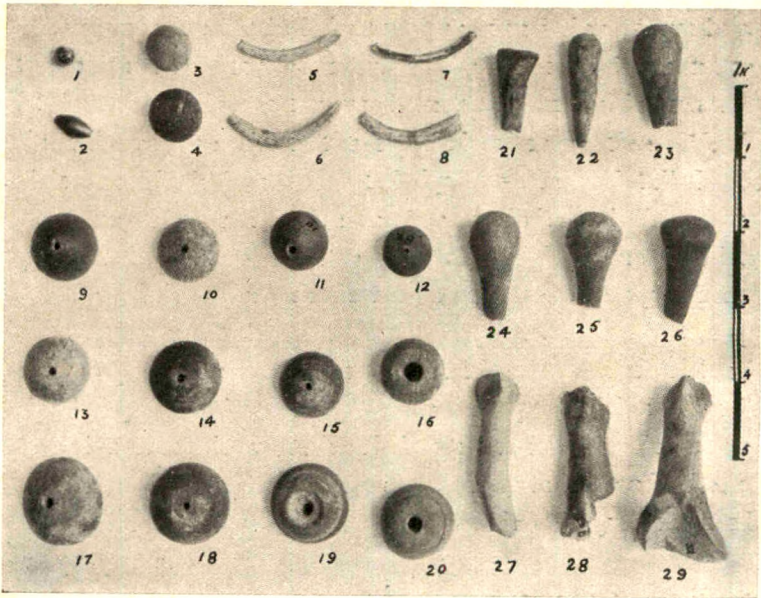
(b) View of Wall No. 3, Tr. II



Stone Image of Goddess Viśālākṣī



(a) Miscellaneous Objects



(b) Miscellaneous Objects

has been in occupation for more than two hundred years at least as can be made out from the study of the art and architecture connected with the temples there. So far as numismatic evidence is concerned a gold coin of *Narasinha Gupta Baladitya* was discovered a few years ago in the locality as a chance find (Pl. V. a, bottom). It is said that some more gold coins were also found sometime back but unfortunately they cannot be traced now. There is in the neighbourhood of (i.e., about one mile away from) Nanoor, a place named *Nalgarhe* (probably equivalent to *Nar Garh*) which is likely called after the name of *Narasinha Gupta* who probably had some connection with the place as is evident from the find of his gold coin at Nanoor. There are some ancient mounds at this place and evidences of large sized bricks usually pertaining to the Gupta period were found here also. This place is not protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, with the result that the mounds are being reduced in size every year for the purpose of cultivation. Systematic excavation at this place is expected to yield interesting results.

The stone image, which is worshipped in the temple adjacent to the mound where excavation was carried on by the excavation party of the University is called *Viśālākṣī*. According to local tradition, she was dug out of the Chandidas mound several decades ago. The image has four arms, the right upper one holds *akṣamālā*, the left upper a *manuscript* and the lower two (hands) hold a *Vīṇā* (harp). She sits on a full bloomed lotus in *Rājāñilā* pose and a devotee is seen kneeling near her right foot. She wears a crown on her head. The mantra or *dhyaṇa* which is used in her daily worship does not agree with her physical features. But her features agree with the description found in a couplet of the *Agnipurāṇa*.* (Pl. IV).

The image belongs to the Pala school of Sculptures (Bengal) and may be ascribed to 10th-11th century A.D.

So far as the history of the excavation at the Chandidas mound (at Nanoor) is concerned, a move was taken for the digging at this place by some local gentlemen including Śrī Harekrishna Mukhopādhyāya, Śrī Anadikinkar Roy and others who approached the then

* *dhyaied-devīm viśālākṣīm śaradindu-śobhānanām
chatur-bāhu-dharām vīṇām dhārayantīm tribhir-bhujaiḥ,
japantīm-eka-bastena chākṣa-mālām vara-pradām
vāmāṃ padmāsane nyasya pādāṃ dakṣaṃ śiroparī.*

But the *Agnipurāṇa* contains a couplet a portion of which agrees with the features of the Nanoor image—e.g. “*pustākṣamālīkā-bastā viprastā Sarasvatī*”

Agni Purāṇa. Ch. 50. Verse 16

quoted from the *Birabhāma-vivaraṇa*, Vol. III (pp. 137-38) by Harekrishna Mukhopādhyāya.

District Magistrate Sri S. N. Chatterjee for help. The latter took the matter in right earnest, raised funds for the purpose and made correspondence with the University for taking up the work. The University authorities agreed to the proposal and approached the Director-General of Archaeology in India for permission to excavate the mound which the latter readily granted (on certain conditions). The University supplied the personnel of the excavation party,* together with their pay, while other expenses were met out of the funds collected by the District Magistrate of Birbhum. The actual digging was started in the winter of 1946.

The District Magistrate Sri S. N. Chatterjee, Sri Harekrishna Mukhopadhyay, Sri Anadi Kinkar Ray, Sri Raj Chandra Sarkar (of Kirnahar), Khan Saheb Abdul Majid Chaudhury and some other local gentlemen took keen personal interest in the operation and lent their helping hands for the arrangement of labour, camping and other necessary things in connection with the excavation.

The Chandidas mound which is about 550 ft. in circumference and about 17 ft. in height from the adjacent road level was divided into four equal sectors and the south-western quarter was taken up for operation. The area was divided into 20' x 20' squares and two trial trenches—one measuring 60' x 20' (C.M.1) and the other 30' x 20' (C.M.2) were dug in that area.

C.M.1.

The central pit in C.M.1 shows as many as five occupation levels, viz. (1) 1L, (2) 2H, 3F, 4F, (3) 5K, 5K'; (4) 7L, 7L' and (5) 12. They represent floors of *surki* and concrete and in upper level (2H), ghuting is found mixed with *surki* and concrete (P.L.I.a). These levels may be co-related with some occupation levels exposed in C.M.2. From a study of these levels in both the areas one will be inclined to attribute the occupation level of Wall No. 1 (C.M.2) and layer 12 of the central pit (C.M.1) to the same period (*i.e.* Gupta period) both the floors being about 9 ft. above the datum line. Floors (one consisting of 2H, 3F, 4F) and (the other consisting of 7L, 7L') of C.M.1 will correspond roughly to floors (2) and (4) respectively of C.M.2.

* The party consisted of the following :—

¹ Sri K. G. Goswami, M.A.

² Sri S. R. Das M.A.

³ „ P. C. Dasgupta Post-Graduate Student, ⁴ „ K. C. Sarker, Draftman-Photographer.

The uppermost floor (1L) of C.M.1 may also roughly be co-related with the floor made up of layers (1A and 1B) of ghuting and concrete and bricks (C.M.1 southern slope), both being about 16' to 16½' above the datum.

The earliest occupation level in connection with wall No. 1 is about 2 ft. above the adjacent road level. This occupation level as stated above was presumably associated with the later phase of the Gupta period, as is evident from the types of bricks, etc. The types of bricks found in the cultivated field of Nalgarhe about a mile to the south of Nanoor also confirm this assertion. A few years ago a gold coin of king Narasinha Gupta Baladitya as already stated was found by a local gentleman of this place. It is now held by the members of his family as a valuable heir-loom and was shown to me by Sri Kbagendra Bhattacharyya of that family.

Although evidences of earlier occupation of the site were forthcoming from the southern portion (C.M.1) of the mound from a lower level (PL. III. a), the place shows signs of a more flourishing condition in matters of construction of brick houses, etc., during the Gupta period. Various types of pottery (Pl. VI) have been unearthed from this trench (C.M.1) from different levels.

After studying the cross-section of the southern part of C.M.1, we find that a heap of bricks and brick-bats at about 7½' ft. above the datum line, indicates the earliest use of these materials in this area. To the south of this heap, an ash-pit and deposit of rubbish show some disturbances by human agencies in these quarters in earlier as well as later periods.

So far as structural evidences are concerned, we find three different occupational periods in this area—*viz.* (1) the earliest one is represented by the heap of bricks and brick-bats, (2) the second level is indicated by the fragmentary wall No. 4 (4'10" wide) running east to west. This wall is contemporaneous with the temple-like structure which has been partially exposed in the south-western corner of the mound; (3) the third level is represented by the upper debris (bricks and brick-bats below the brick-pavement at the top). Some pottery objects (*e.g.* saucers, dishes, cups vases, etc.) were found in the lower level in the southern part of this trench (C.M.1).

In the pit (XVI-XX) of C.M.1 there have been found as many as five floor levels (PL.I. a) *viz.*—(1) The uppermost one is a line

($1\frac{1}{2}$ " thick) of ghuting upon 2" thick concrete which again stands on one course of brick (16'9" above D.M.). (2) The second floor at a level 15'10" above D.M. is a line of $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick ghuting above 4" thick concrete and *surki* followed by one course of bricks ($2\frac{1}{2}$ "—3" thick). (PL. II. a). (3) The third floor at a level of 14'3" above D.M. consists of two courses (5") of bricks below 1"-2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick plaster of *surki*, etc. (4) The fourth floor at a level 12'9" above D.M. is made up of (a) ghuting mixed with dark soft earth (3" thick), (b) *surki* (2" thick) and (c) pavement one course of bricks of ($2\frac{1}{2}$ " thick). The fourth floor is by the side of a broken wall only three courses ($7\frac{1}{2}$ " thick) of bricks of which are found at the bottom. (5) The fifth floor consisting of a brick pavement comes at a level $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. below the 4th or 8'3" above D.M. line. The heap of bricks and brickbats in C.M.1 Sec. IX-X is about 7'6" above the datum line and may therefore be co-related with the fifth floor in the deep pit in central portion of C.M.1 section XVII-XVIII (east face).

The excavation was brought to a close for the time being when the 5th floor was discovered.

In the centre of the mound in C.M.1 a complete human skeleton (4'10" long) was found buried below one of the pucca floors (*i.e.* the floor consisting of layers 2H, 3F, 4F) which was cut through just according to the measurement of the body (PL. VII). The skeleton was lying roughly north to south with its head towards the north. The skeleton shows 16 teeth in its upper jaw and 15 in the lower. The face was found slightly turned towards the east. The body was buried either (i) for concealment after murder or (ii) as *samādhi* of some saint or *sādhū* or (iii) for disposing off after *tantric sādhanā* which requires at times dead bodies.

C.M. 2.

In this area that is the western part of the mound some structural finds have been discovered though in a very damaged condition. The Excavation has revealed remains of three walls in this trench. Wall No. 3 is supposed to be the earliest brick structure here. (PL. III. b). It stands on blackish compact earth slightly above the virgin soil. The usual size of the bricks used in this wall is $14\frac{1}{2}$ " or $14" \times 9" \times 2"$ or $2\frac{1}{4}"$. The eastern portion of the southern face of this wall has got mouldings of partly rounded bricks. This wall was strongly built (4ft. wide) and seems to have heavily suffered at the hands of the brick-robbers on the east as well as on the west.

Marks of robbers' trench are quite clear in the western side. This wall probably suffered from some catastrophe—some heavy shock of earthquake or the like, from north to south, as a good number of fallen bricks is found constituting a debris about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high in a slanting position towards the south from the foot of this wall. The above-mentioned debris was found below the foundation of wall No. 1. (PL. II b). This wall is also very massive ($4'6''$ wide at the foundation and $2'10''$ wide above the offset) and has been traced to a length of $27'$ from the western extremity of the mound upto the eastern limit of the trench and shows a tendency to go further. The eastern limit of the wall No. 1 yet remains to be seen. This wall is built of bricks measuring $14'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ and $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$. Some bricks of the sizes $9'' \times 9'' \times 3''$ and $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$ were also picked up from this trench. The wall No. 1 appears to have been supported by a wall (No. 2) $4'3''$ long (north to south) and $3'0''$ wide (E.W.) (PL. I. b). The latter is not bonded with wall No. 1 as it was a later addition though almost contemporary in age. They stand on the same layer of earth and their occupation level seems to be the same. The existing height of the wall No. 1 above the uppermost offset is $1'0''$ (i.e. five courses of bricks). This wall had been sealed up by a layer (8A) of darkish compact earth mixed with bricks and brickbats. This wall was built later than wall No. 3 as the former has for its foundation blackish hard earth mixed with brickbats and potsherds and ashes (layer 10) deposited with the debris of wall No. 3. The occupation level of the building consisting of wall No. 1 seems to be on the floor of *surki* and concrete (8B), found to the south of this wall. The mortar used in these walls is mud. The mound in this section shows three periods of occupation (PL. I. b). The earliest one which is represented by the walls detailed above, probably extended over the Gupta-Pala period, and the other two were represented by two pavements. The higher one consists of two courses of bricks and the lower one one course only. The area covered by these pavements is a fairly large one. Both the pavements are supposed to be the occupation levels or floors of the later period (probably Muslim)—one earlier in age and the other later. These two structures show marks of lime on concrete. Some tongue-shaped bricks ($10'' \times 4'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$) with one side rounded and the other with a rim also came up from the mound. They were used for decorative purposes.

In between the early walls (1, 2, 3) of C.M.2 and the floors which are found in C.M.1 and 2, at higher levels is the foundation

of a broken wall (No. 4 C.M. 1-4' 10" wide) 9 ft. above D.M. running east to west, (in *Tr. No. 1.*) A solid structure of similar bricks almost at the same level (about 9' above D.M.) was partly exposed at the south-western part of the mound. These two structures mark another period in the history of the mound. These are probably the remnants of the Pala age.

The extensive lower floor, consisting of one course of bricks (marked as 4, 14' above D.M. and 15' above D.M. at places) runs almost throughout the mound. It appears to belong to the early Muslim period as has already been stated. This extensive area cannot presumably be taken as forming part of a single building but is likely to represent a pavement where some public gathering or functions used to take place.

Antiquities

So far as the antiquities are concerned the excavated area of Nanor has not yielded any evidence which bears a definite date. Consequently recourse has to be taken to types and styles of objects found there for ascribing approximate date to them.

Stone objects

An Image of Ganeśa in low relief (2.26" x 1.36") carved on a piece of grey sand-stone is the only stone-antiquity which came out from the excavated area. The work is a crude one and might be ascribed to a late period (c. 15th-16th cent. A.D.) [PL. V (a) Top. left-hand fig.]. This antiquity was found in the dump.

Terracottas

1. Fragment of terracotta female figure (torso). The workmanship is crude and the object is badly damaged. The prominent naval and two strains of girdle are visible. This might be ascribed to 3rd-4th cent. A.D. (Find spot C.M.I. III-2' x 4'3" x 3' (6)*).

2. Lower part of a terracotta standing female figure in relief with right hand akimbo (in two fragments). The figure was prepared by means of mould and might have been a representation of the mother goddess. This figure may be ascribed to late Gupta period. (C.M.I. No. 103, VII-0 x 10'-0" x 2'2"). [PL. V (a) top. right-hand fig.].

* The number within bracket means layer.

3. The head of a terracotta figure with a hole at the top for hanging by means of a cord on the wall was discovered from C.M.2 8-2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ " (5). The face is a lovely one and may be attributed to c. 10th cent. A.D. [PL. V (a) Top. central fig.].

4. Three heads of terracotta snakes—two from C.M.I (5D) and one from C.M.2 (11) (PL. v.b. 27-29) were also unearthed. These antiquities appear to belong to the mediaeval period. The find of these objects proves that snake worship was prevalent at Nanoor during the Muslim rule. [PL. V (b) Nos. 27-29].

5. A number of terracotta stoppers also came out from different levels of both the trenches—the lowest level being 7'6" C.M.I (6C) and the highest 1'6" C.M.2 (6) [PL. V (b) 21-26].

6. A few terracotta toys in fragments bearing the figures of bulls, horses, wheels, etc. were also brought to light, but their condition was not at all satisfactory.

7. A number of terracotta beads [PL. V (b) 9-20] some of which might have served as spindle whorls, and terminals, was picked up in course of excavation from various layers. The presence of spindle whorls goes to prove that spinning was a favourite pastime with the people of this place. The terracotta beads were probably used by the poorer class of the society or were used as net-sinkers.

8. Some fragments of terracotta bangles also were brought to light and had probably been used by the poorer folk.

9. Of other miscellaneous objects, fragments of shell bangles C.M.I [PL. V (b)], No. 5 from (7N), No.6 from (5E) and No.8 from (11C) and glass bangle [PL. V (b)] No.7 from (6), and iron nails, etc. may be mentioned.

As regards stone beads one round specimen of agate from C.M.I. (7C) (dia. .4") (PL. V.b. 1.) and another barrel-shaped bead of carnelian from C.M.2 (10) (length. .5") (of the pre-Gupta period?) [PL. V (b) 2.] were found in course of digging.

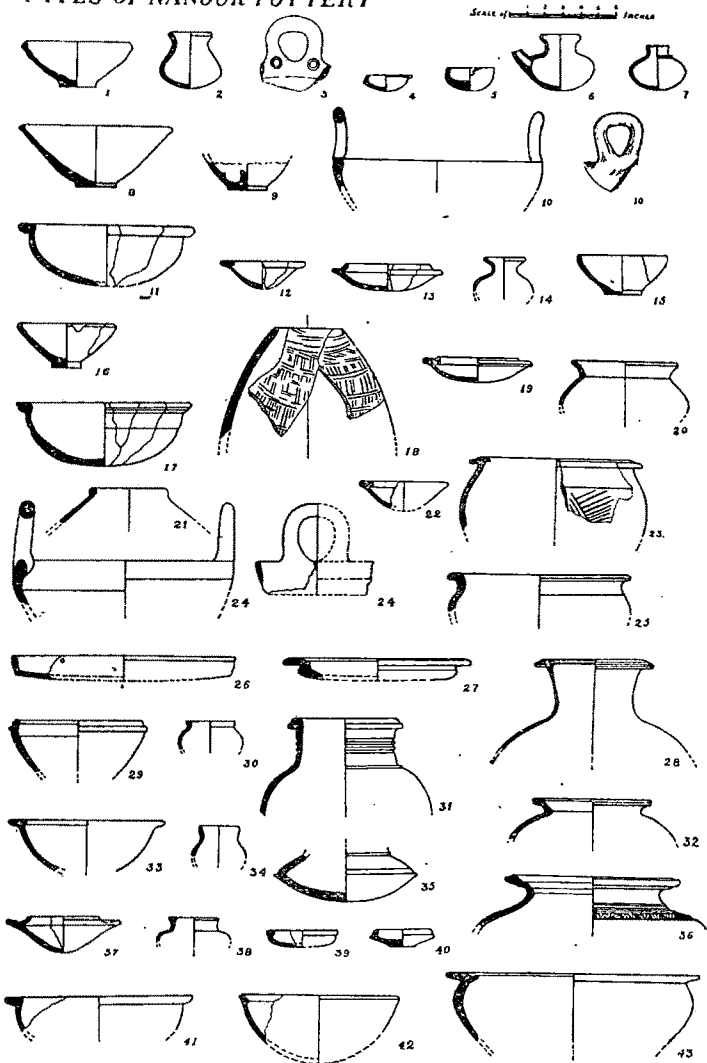
Pottery. (PL.VI)

Of all the objects found at Nanoor pottery plays a remarkable part. A detailed account of the different types of pottery is given below :—

- (1) Pottery saucer with wide mouth, tapering flat bottom and corrugated body, dia. 6.25", ht. 3.45", C.M.I. (6)* was probably used for keeping household articles. (The colour is greyish cream and bears finger grooves both inside and outside).
- (2) Small vase (dia. 3.25", ht. 3.15") with round bottom and curved shoulder was probably used for household purposes. C.M.I. (5B)—colour light reddish.
- (3) Pan-handle—reddish in colour with red slip and two circular marks indented inside (C.M.I.).
- (4) Lamp (wheel made) (dia. 2.32", ht. 0.9") colour red with black marks owing to burning C.M.I. (1).
- (5) Lamp (hand made) colour greyish with reddish slip (length 2.85", ht. 1.2") C.M.I. (6).
- (6) Spouted vase with round bottom and greyish cream colour dia. 3.8", ht. 3.12" C.M.I. (6).
- (7) Narrow-mouthed small vase with two grooves on the shoulder and round bottom, grey in colour, dia 3.25", ht. 2.5" C.M.I. (6E).
- (8) Saucer with wide mouth and tapering flat bottom and corrugated body (inside and outside), reddish in colour, dia. at the mouth 8.58" dia. at the bottom 2.2", ht. 3.4" C.M.I. (6).
- (9) Fragment of lid with knob at the top and flat bottom—reddish in colour; (dia. at the bottom 2.1") C.M.I. (dump).
- (10) Fragment of handled cooking pan, dia. (after reconstruction) 11.8" light red C.M.I. (7A).
- (11) Cooking pan with flanged rim, grey body with slightly red rim, dia. (after reconstruction) 9.8", ht. 3.4 " C.M.I (8).
- (12) Lid with a rim showing both inward and outward projection; indication of red slip is found inside the lid and over the rim, dia. 4.8", ht. 1.5" C.M.I (11C).
- (13) Lid with flanged rim showing slightly red slip inside and at the top dia. 6.25", ht. 1.5" (after reconstruction) C.M.I (8).
- (14) Vase with flanged rim, thin fabric with grey colour, dia. 2.35" (at the top) C.M.I. (8).
- (15) Bowl with wide mouth and small flat base and corrugated tapering body. It has a coarse reddish fabric, dia. 5.1", ht. 2.4" C.M.I. (8).
- (16) Bowl with wide mouth and small flat base with slightly slanting rim. Colour and fabric are like those of type 15, dia. 5.7", ht. 2.4".

* The number within bracket means *layer*.

TYPES OF NANOOR POTTERY



Types of Pottery

- (17) Bowl of coarse greyish fabric with flanged rim and indication of slightly red slip on the rim: dia. 9.85"; ht. 3.5" C.M.I. (8).
- (18) Ellipsoid jar with scratchings all over the surface of the body of slightly red coarse fabric; dia. 3.75" (at the mouth) C.M.I. (8).
- (19) Carinated lid with rim of outward projection, dia. 6.15", ht. 1.35", C.M.I.
- (20) Cooking vessel with flanged rim, coarse fabric with red slip dia. 7.3" C.M.I. (8).
- (21) Storage jar of mediocre size with short neck of coarse reddish fabric: dia. at the mouth 4.45" C.M.I. (2).
- (22) Lid with inward and outward projection of reddish colour, dia. 5.0" C.M.I. (8).
- (23) Cooking vessel with projecting rim; regular scratching marks on the body; coarse fabric with slightly red colour, dia. 10.5" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).
- (24) Cooking pan with ring-handle; slightly red coarse fabric, dia. 11.0" (after reconstruction), C.M.I. (8).
- (25) Storage jar with wide mouth and short flanged rim of thick coarse fabric and slightly red colour, dia. 10.3" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).
- (26) Dish with flat base and black polish both inside and outside, with straight rim containing on the exterior two parallel lines, one at the top and the other at the bottom. The reconstruction has been done from a fragment. This dish may be compared with similar object of same shape and fine grained fabric ($\frac{1}{4}$ " thick), colour and polish of the early period (*i.e.*, Maurya-Sunga period). Similar objects were found at the lower level of Bangarh (*i.e.*, Maurya-Sunga level). This dish also may be attributed to an early age (*i.e.*, Maurya-Sunga) dia. 12.4" (after reconstruction), ht. 1.45" C.M.I. (5E).
- (27) Dish with splaying rim bearing two parallel grooves at the top and grey fabric with black polish inside and red polish outside, dia. 10.6" (after reconstruction), ht. 1.25" (thickness of fabric 0.25") C.M.I. (1).
- (28) Water jar with short flanged rim and red thin fabric: dia. top 6.75" C.M.I. (4).
- (29) Carinated bowl with lines indented inside and outside; black polish inside and red outside; dia. 7.7" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (1).
- (30) Miniature vase with short flanged rim, narrow neck and round body with fine fabric of red colour; dia. (at the top) 2.75" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).

- (31) Jar with a series of grooves on the neck and projecting rim, grey fabric (25" thick), dia. (at the top) 6.4" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (4).
- (32) Cooking vessel with short flanged rim, fine grained fabric with red colour; dia. 6.65" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).
- (33) Bowl with rim of inside and outside projection, coarse fabric of reddish colour; dia. 8.7" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (6).
- (34) Miniature (fragmentary) vase with round body and slightly flanged neck of fine reddish fabric; dia. 2.35" C.M.I. (4).
- (35) Vessel with one groove on the belly and indication of another on the shoulder and convex bottom, thick red fabric; dia. 8.0- C.M.I. (8).
- (36) Storage jar with decorative indented design (chevron) on the shoulder and flanged rim; coarse fabric of reddish colour; dia. (at the mouth) 9.8" C.M.I. (4).
- (37) Jar-cover with a flange near the shoulder and convex base, coarse fabric with red colour dia. 6.35", ht. 2.0" C.M.I. (8).
- (38) Small vase with short neck and fine reddish fabric; dia. 4.1" (after reconstruction) (at the mouth) C.M.I. (8).
- (39) Miniature dish with short carinated rim and fine reddish fabric; dia. 4.0", ht. .90" C.M.I. (5).
- (40) Jar-cover of coarse grey fabric with inverted rim, dia. 3.6" C.M.I. (5).
- (41) Bowl with short flanged neck and of coarse reddish fabric, dia. 10.4" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).
- (42) Bowl of hemispherical shape of reddish colour, dia. 9.0", ht. 3.65" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (8).
- (43) Storage jar with flanged rim and finely grained fabric, black inside and reddish polish outside; dia. 14.2" (after reconstruction) C.M.I. (7).



Human Skeleton

Round the World

Birth of the Republic

On the 26th of January last India was proclaimed a republic. This is an event the significance of which none should miss. In dim distant past when the very idea of Indian unity had not been mooted and the country was only a congeries of petty states, some of them were according to traditions administered on a republican basis. The Lichchavis of Vaisali were known to constitute one such tribal republic of olden days. Since these petty states were absorbed in the expanding Magadhan Empire, India has been inured only to monarchical traditions. During a long period of two thousand and five hundred years which have elapsed since then there have been many ups and downs in Indian History. Empires have been built and broken, dynasties formed and overturned, the country united and divided but in the midst of all these freaks of fortune there was no loosening of the hold of the monarchical principle. Even during the hundred years of the East India Company's rule in this country, although the government was that of the Company, there was the British monarchy behind it. In considerable portions of India also princely rule prevailed although that rule became increasingly subject to the paramountcy of the Company.

These traditions of twentyfive hundred years were gone back upon on the 26th of January last. The objectives resolution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly very early in its career. That resolution has been embodied in the Constitution as its preamble. It states that the people of India have solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic. In conformity with this preamble the proclamation was made on the day mentioned above.

In history, republic has not meant anything fixed, definite and uniform. It has, of course, always implied that at the head of it there would be no hereditary prince. But apart from it the republic has not signified any particular form of government or social and political ideal. It has meant as much the Rome of simple folks as it was in the days of Cincinnatus as the republic of Venice with its political control vested in the Council of Ten. At the present time the Soviet Union with its party dictatorship is as much a republic as the American Commonwealth. As a rule, however, people everywhere associate not only democratic government but simplicity and straightforwardness with republicanism. The Constitution which has now been brought into operation also provides that India is to be not only a sovereign but democratic republic. Nothing could, of course, be

said in the Constitution as to the ways of the government and the people. It has, however, provided for adult franchise. And when all men and women of twentyone years and above are admitted to the vote, it may be taken for granted that the government must increasingly accommodate to their ways of life. The Mughal Emperors of India led a high life and created highly expensive paraphernalia not only for themselves and the members of their family but for all their representatives in the subas and parganas. These traditions were maintained by the British in still more exaggerated form. They believed that a foreign government lived on prestige and greater the pomp and pageantry, the greater was, in their opinion, the prestige of the government in the east. With the inauguration of the republic these paraphernalia—should be increasingly reduced and the administration made progressively simple.

It has been pointed out that India's republicanism has been vitiated by her membership of the Commonwealth and the acceptance of the British King as the head of that Commonwealth and that it has further been tarnished by the transformation of a number of former ruling Princes into Rajpramukhs and Upa-rajpramukhs. In respect of the King of England it may be said at once that his connection with India has ceased once for all. Neither functionally nor ceremonially he will have now anything to do with this country. He is, it is true, the head of the Commonwealth of which India is a member. But this headship does not assign to him any power, any function. India is a member of the United Nations. One gentleman presides over every session of its general assembly and another gentleman presides over a meeting of its Security Council. They exercise some functions and authority in these capacities. But it cannot be said that they constitute a limitation on India's sovereignty. Similarly the King of England as the head of the Commonwealth constitutes no limitation upon India's sovereignty and republicanism. As for the princely Rajpramukhs, they represent only a temporary phase which will in time go the way of princely rule in this country.

General Election in Britain

Before this paragraph is in print, the general elections in Britain will be held and their results known. The Labour Government might have continued for a few more months without dissolving the Parliament. But Mr. Attlee in consultation with his colleagues decided to go to the country without further delay.

It is a fact to be noted that during the last few years the Labour Government has not lost one single seat although a number of by-elections were held. But it is true at the same time that its majority in many constituencies has been considerably reduced. In the light of these facts there has been considerable speculation as to the turn the elections of February the 23rd

will take. But such speculation leads us nowhere. It is coloured so much by wishful thinking as to lose much of its value. One thing important is that Labour is committed to socialism. It has already socialised some of the important industries and it is a part of its programme that if it gets another lease of power it will nationalise other important concerns as well. The question is whether the British public has taken kindly or not to this introduction of socialism in the country. Nationalisation inevitably damages private rights and privileges. But such damage alienates only a small fraction of the people. If, however, as a result of nationalisation efficiency suffers, production falls, and corruption sets in, the general public also becomes affected. But none of these charges against nationalisation can be substantiated in Britain. Consequently, the Labour Government is not likely to lose any prestige on this score with the electorate. On the contrary by going ahead with its schemes of social welfare, it has gained new support in the country.

The Conservatives have a spectacular leader in the person of Churchill. He is now seventyfive but has not lost anything for that in vigour and tenacity. His animus against any form of socialism, his antipathy towards India and particularly the Hindus and his support of all outworn ideas have now become a liability to his party. Consequently there was a talk of his being retired and Eden being chosen as the leader. But Churchill quoted the cases of Victorian statesmen, particularly the case of Mr. Gladstone who retired only at the age of eightyfive from the leadership of the Liberal Party. In any event he continues to lead the Conservative Party. At the time of writing he has not fired yet his broadsides against his socialist opponents. But it is doubtful whether his Philippics against socialism will be as effective as his calls for blood, sweat and toil were during war-time. At the age of seventyfive it is a more pleasant task to ruminate and write memoirs than to take responsibility for fresh action. If he loses the election, the world of politics will not lose much and the world of letters will gain a great deal. If, however, he secures a majority in the House of Commons, the world of letters will lose a great deal and the world of politics will hardly gain anything.

British elections have no longer much dramatic significance which they used to have in the 19th and early 20th centuries. They do not any longer represent the clash of personalities as was noticeable in the case of the long rivalry between Disraeli and Gladstone. People did not so much vote for this or that set of principles or even for this or that party as they voted for the leadership of this or that statesman. They knew two great personalities who were working at cross purposes and raised one of them to the headship of the Government and relegated the other to the leadership of the opposition. At the present time, however, while the factor of personality has not been eliminated, the voters stand for this or that programme

and consequently for this or that party. In view of this it does not matter much that the leader of the Labour Party is not a man of the same stature as the seventyfive years old leader of the Conservative Party. Mr. Attlee draws his support not so much from the people's admiration for his personal calibre as from the programme of work which his Government has already carried out and the programme which it intends to carry out if returned to power in the coming elections. Since the above was written, the Labour Government has been returned to power with a precarious majority in the House of Commons.

Propaganda about Philippines ?

The following is from The Fortnightly :

"It is not unusual in Manila to hear from some European say : 'I give this country five years before the crash' The people and their climate are lazy. A hotel boy who had to go up to my room and down again expected a handsome tip. He was quite eloquent about the trouble and fatigue involved. This laziness unfits the Filipinos for mining and industrial enterprise. Gold production, formerly a most profitable industry, is now almost at standstill. The owners say that the inertia and inefficiency of labour are so great that it is hardly worth the effort of reopening the mines.

"The people besides are captious and difficult. Strikes on the Manila waterfront, in industry, and troubles on the sugar plantations are an ever present irritation to the Europeans sweating at their desks in Manila. The Filipinos....are great grumblers, delighting to have a grievance to nurse and very willing to use strikes or more violent means to gain redress....

"The administration, moreover, is corrupt. Early this year (1949) a Government adviser on police affairs said in public and with deliberation : "If any Manila policeman tells me he lives on his pay that man is either a liar or a magician." Graft extends upwards from the humble policeman to the highest representatives of the people....

"Idleness, inefficiency, lawlessness, corruption, a nationalist xenophobia in legislation and a luxurious extravagance in daily life....these are the weaknesses of the Filipino character and economy which are continually before one's eyes in the capital. There are Filipinos as well foreigners who say that it is American troops and American gold which alone hold in tact the national structure....But America does not intend to help Filipinos indefinitely as in the past. Already United States troops have withdrawn to Clark Field and some few other strategic points....The flow of unearned dollars is to stop in 1951 when the last war-damage claims are paid...."

So King Thibeu is drinking. When will attempts be made to remove him ?

How is America reacting to Soviet Threat ?

S. K. Ratcliffe, at one time editor of the Statesman and a specialist on American affairs observes as follows in the Contemporary Review : "It

would be impossible to discuss the America of 1949 without specific reference to the spy and treason trials and the national state of mind in relation to Russia and Communism. The fears are nationwide and the consequences very grave. The public services have undergone a systematic purge. In the colleges and universities there is a feeling of insecurity or worse. The State universities are wholly dependent upon the local legislations. Public suspicion is easily worked up, and fanatical politicians are only too ready to do their part. In New York State a determined agitation is under way for bringing school and college staffs within the grip of a loyalty test. Designed formally as a barrier against Communists and fellow-travellers, it could, as the profession has learnt by bitter experience, be used as a weapon against liberal views and all free intelligent teaching. Nor should we, in this connection, overlook another peril, which may be described as an American counterpart of the Moscow-Lysenko tyranny. Anti-Communism is being felt even in the research institutes."

Caste and Democracy

We referred on a previous occasion in these columns to the institution of castes and its inconsistency with the growth of nationalism and democracy in the country. Recently Mr. K. M. Panikkar in a Convocation address and the Sarvodaya Samaj in the proceedings of its annual meeting have asked for strong action against the continuance of castes. Mr. Panikkar has been for long a crusader in this field. More than fifteen years ago he published a booklet entitled *Caste and Democracy* and pointed out therein that people affiliated to this or that caste were not fit members of a democratic state. In fact a democratic state becomes a *reductio ad absurdum* on that score. Caste implies inequality between man and man. It represents also a lack of fraternity between people of different castes. Even liberty which is the third member of democratic trinity is denied by the caste system. A man should have the liberty to contract social alliances with whomsoever he may choose. It is true that intercaste marriages have now been made possible by legislations. But in many cases caste opinion proves stronger than the provisions of a permissive law. Most people would fight shy of an arrangement which is not normal but only extraordinary. Consequently even where there is desire, there may not be the necessary will to contract social alliances out of caste. So in practice caste violates all the principles of democracy. Solidarity among the people which is the bed-rock of nationalism is also dangerously undermined by the existence of castes. In fact instead of one people inhabiting one country, there is a multiplicity of groups on caste basis, each pulling its weight in its own directions.

There are many people, otherwise so progressive and so go-ahead, who are singularly complacent about their affiliation to this or that caste. They will continue to limit their social alliances to their own caste or sub caste

but at the same assert that one should not worry about caste restrictions which were breaking down every day. Actually it is only the extreme perversions of caste system which have now largely disappeared under the hammer blows of Gandhiji. The so-called lower castes who were kept down for centuries are now asserting themselves. They have actually attained equality of status in respect of the use of public schools, public wells, and other public institutions and resorts. While this much has been achieved, nothing has been done so far in demolishing the caste barriers between man and man. In regard to amenities provided by the state, people of one caste may not have the monopoly of enjoyment at the expenses of the people of another caste. But this does not mean that the two have broken barriers in between them. These barriers in fact remain as strong today as they happened to be decades ago. The aim of the Sarvodaya Samaj is to set up a casteless and classless society. We wish it well.

Future of the Calcutta Corporation

The Calcutta Municipal Act, 1923, under which this city of six million souls enjoyed full local self-government for twentyfive years was made in-operative in April, 1948 and since then the city has been looked after by an Administrator appointed by and responsible to the Government of Bengal. Meanwhile a Commission of Inquiry was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. C. C. Biswas to look into the charges of corruption and inefficiency which had been levelled against the Corporation from time to time as also to recommend changes in the set-up of the municipal government of Calcutta so as to improve its administration.

The Committee submitted an interim report in the middle of the year 1949. On the 31st of January last it completed its work and submitted its final report to the Government. The interim report contained recommendations regarding the composition of the Corporation Council and the mode of its election. The final report gives us a full picture of the Corporation as it will be if the recommendations are carried out in full. So far only the observations of the Commission regarding the Council-Manager plan of government which it was recommending have been published more or less in their entirety. Otherwise our information regarding the ideas of the Commission are very incomplete. We do not know, for instance, whether the Commission has discovered any specific proofs as to alleged corruption in the administration of the Corporation affairs to enquire into which was one of the main objects of the appointment of the Commission. We hope light on these matters will be thrown by the early publication of the report.

The Commission has recommended that the Corporation Council should consist of seventyfive members, that number of voters should be considerably increased by the adoption of the principle of adult franchise and

that the constituencies should be small in size. But the Council so constituted will be entitled only to lay down the policy of the Corporation and will not be allowed to meddle in the administration, such administration being the concern of a Manager (Chief Executive Officer) over whose appointment and dismissal the Council will not have full control. Such appointment and dismissal are to be subject to Government approval. The other officers and assistants of the Corporation will be under the control of the Manager and will take orders from and be responsible to him. There will be a municipal civil service Commission consisting of three members, one appointed by the Corporation Council, one by the Manager and one by the Government.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Immortal Ease—By Theodore Nicholl, Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers), Ltd., London. Price 6s. Pp. 1-55.

This small volume of about forty poems has the war as their common theme. Their appeal lies in their sincerity; they have all been deeply thought and felt and expressed with the utmost economy of language. The author seems to have developed his poetic powers under the stress of the war. He has a rich imagination which easily overflows into striking metaphors, lighting up a subject with a sudden flash that belongs to genius. In Theodore Nicholl there is evidence of a rare poetic talent, and if the present volume represents his first poetic attempt, it must be pronounced to be a very promising one.

Houston Post Poems—By Pascal R. Wilson, The Kaleidograph Press, Dallas, Texas. Price \$ 2.0.0. Pp. 1-65.

The author who is about thirty-two years old, is a graduate of Texas and has been variously employed in business and literature. The present volume of fifty odd poems seems to represent not only his first attempt to appear in book form but, also, nearly a sixth of his total output as writer. The poems in this volume are mainly on the author's native city which they describe admiringly in carefully chosen words. The poems tell us of passing moods and are interesting rather as expressions of stray thoughts and reflexions than of any profound experience.

Selected poems—By P. R. Kaikini, The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay, 7. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 1-53.

P. R. Kaikini's poems brought together into this thin volume of about fifty pages seem to have been selected by the author himself from his various published books over a period of seven years. It contains occasional pieces like the *Earthquake at Quetta, Shanghai : 1937*, as well as some love lyrics. The author writes verses with facility and seems to have something of his own to say in spite of the traditional form which he chooses for his poetic work.

Poems of Hou-chu Rendered into English—By Liu Yih-Ling and Shahid Suhrawardy, with Chinese Text. Orient Longmans Limited, Bombay. Pages v-xv, 1-79.

The volume contains thirty-nine poems out of a total of forty-five which Lee Hou-Chou, one of the Kings of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms of China, wrote. He was born in A.D. 937 and seems to have been endowed

with a delicate imagination and a love of beautiful things. The Introduction to the volume gives a sketch of his life which brings out his devotion to literature and the arts as well as a certain eccentric strain in his character which seems to go very well with the remote Chinese world, which he ruled and inhabited and in which he wrote his fragile little poems. In his preference for a flask of wine and of female society he reminds us of Omar Khaiyam. He has also an awareness of the flight of time :

My dream again went back to my old kingdom.
When I awoke, two threads of tears hung from my eyes.
I remember how we had watched the Autumn from the top
of the terrace.

But who will go there with me now ?
Empty is the past ;
It is a dream.

The poems have an elusive quality about them. Their music is subtle and intellectual, and sad. Nature often appears in them but it is of fading flowers and of autumn that he writes by preference. The poems are very short but they effectively capture a mood. They will give pleasure to all who love poetry.

Srichandra Sen.

University Addresses—By C. Rajagopalachari. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 2-8-0. Library Edition, Rs. 3-8-0. 1949. Pp. 112.

Sri Rajagopalachari has appeared during the last twenty-five years in many rôles—as a politician, a social reformer, an administrator, an author and also as an educator, not only in the larger sense of the word but also in connection with wholesome advice tendered to University students in India. His educational addresses, delivered during the last twelve years to about a dozen universities all over the country, have been collected together in this volume under review and presented to the general reader to help university education with constructive criticism.

These addresses contain, as everything from "C. R." is bound to contain, a liberal dose of humour, but there is also much practical sense expressed in them, and a concrete definite objective ideal of life—suitable for teachers and students alike. He has both of them in view when he says :

"Should teachers and students be encouraged to take up active politics apart from academic studies ? My answer has always been, and I repeat it now—No ! Active party politics is inconsistent with fruitful student-life. Should our schools and colleges be scenes of political battles and party squabbles ? My answer is an emphatic No ! Should strike and 'satyagraha' be recognized and encouraged in schools ? My answer is again in the negative."

"C. R." has very properly warned the organisers of education against cramming too much matter into the immature brain of adolescent minds. "The idea that education should cover all useful fields of equipment is futile and erroneous. The limitations of time and immaturity should be kept in mind, and more time should be spent on evolving the capacity to acquire knowledge and to think aright than on substantial equipment straightway. The pressure of too many subjects is not a good thing for the young brain."

Citations need not be further multiplied, but the reviewer feels sure they should be done best by the reader himself. It is useless to add that C.R.'s language is not only charming but also crystal clear, but the thoughts cannot be lightly passed over. It is to be hoped that the book will be perused by all interested in education, and specially university education, with profit.

P. R. Sen.

Social Security—By N. A. Sarma, M.A. of Bombay University. Published by National Information & Publication Limited, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-4.

With the attainment of national independence, it seems we have lost our moorings in the sphere of social security and this so in every field of life whether as buyer or seller, as producer or consumer. The consequent disturbed economic balance is creating the problem of unemployment which all would like to solve. The author's exposition is clear and though it is only a sketch, it contains some fruitful suggestions. Government can, if so disposed, build up a solid structure upon it.

The Spirit and Form of Indian polity—By Sri Aurobindo. Published by Arya Publishing House, 63, College Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.

It is a clear exposition of a master mind in answer to a British critic about the spirit of Indian polity. India never raised any sectarian slogan but always stood for all and humanity. This explains her social organisation based on universalism and not on individualism. In the author's language, "We must seek now to awake not an Anglicised oriental people, docile pupil of the West and doomed to repeat the cycle of the Occident's success or failure but to discover the complete meaning and a vaster form of her Dharma."

Cobweb of Hindusthani—By Chandra Bali Pande, M.A. Published by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag.

The author takes up the case of Hindi in the right royal spirit condemning Urdu as a parasitic tongue.

J. N. MITRA

Ourselfes

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

At a meeting of the Senate held on the 28th January last the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, offered felicitations on behalf of the University to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on his election to the Presidentship of the Indian Republic. To these felicitations Dr. Prasad sent a very fitting reply.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad had a unique career as a student of this University. Early in this century it had its jurisdiction extended over the whole of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Burma. Dr. Prasad headed the list of successful candidates at the Entrance Examination of the University in 1902. He had appeared at the examination from the Chapra Zilla School. Thereafter he came to Calcutta for further studies and got admitted into the Presidency College. In the F.A. Examination of 1904 and the B.A. Examination of 1906 he maintained his pre-eminence as a scholar of repute and headed the list of successful candidates. In 1908 he took his M.A. degree and in the subsequent three years he passed the Law examinations. In these he did not rise to expectations cherished of him by his friends whose number was legion. This was because, as he himself has explained in his autobiography, his attention had been meanwhile diverted to social and political work. He was deeply involved in these years in the organisation of student movement in Bihar. But in 1915 after practising at the Calcutta High Court Bar for about four years he appeared at the M.L. Examination which was then, as it is now, the most difficult examination held by the University and he came out with flying colours in the first class. It should be pointed out here that he was not connected with this University only as a student. He also served for a short time one of its affiliated colleges as a Professor and later he was also on the staff of the University Law College for a few years. This fairly long connection with his University ceased only with the establishment of the High Court at Patna and the transference of his legal work from Calcutta to the former city in 1916.

As it has been pointed out already, Rajendra Babu, as a student of the Presidency College, collected round him a host of friends and

admirers, many of whom are still scattered in different parts of this province. Politics has as much its pleasant as its unpleasant aspects and Rajendra Babu with the best of motives could not uniformly remain popular in all circles. But we have yet to meet a former college fellow of his who does not speak of him with loving admiration. The memory of his student days is a valued link in the long traditions of the Presidency College and the Hindu Hostel of which he was an inmate.

We have referred to Rajendra Babu's short career as a teacher at Calcutta. But his activities as an educationist did not cease with his removal to Patna. On the contrary such activities were intensified at that city. He took a prominent part in the passing of the Patna University Bill and became a member of both the Senate and the Syndicate of the Patna University when it was brought into being. His activities as a Fellow and Syndic were as untiring and incessant as they were constructive in character. It was unfortunate that with the adoption of the principle and policy of non-cooperation by the special session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in 1920, his connection with the University ceased. He resigned his membership of the Senate and Syndicate. But still for sometime to come his interest in education was maintained though on a new basis. Students who on the call of the Congress withdrew from the schools and colleges, affiliated to the University, were largely admitted into a National College of which Rajendra Babu became the Principal. His life during the period of his association with this National College was that of an ancient *guru* surrounded by his pupils, living their simple austere life, sharing their joys and sorrows and acting in every sense as their friend, philosopher and guide.

It was not, however, possible for so prominent a publicman as Rajendra Babu to limit his activities to an educational institution. Other calls were more urgent and insistent. Gradually the sphere of his work was widened and enlarged and to-day, after filling many positions of great responsibility, he has become our President, the first in the long and chequered annals of India. The University of Calcutta no longer holds sway over the schools and colleges outside the truncated province of West Bengal but it may very well share the pride of Bihar that one of its own sons now presides over the destiny of our dear and much suffering country.

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PROFESSOR D. GHOSE

Professor D. Ghose who acted as head of the Department of Economics for one year during the absence of Professor J. P. Niyogi (now serving as a member of the West Bengal Public Service Commission) left for New York last month where he has been appointed Assistant Director of Economic Affairs in the U.N.O. We have no doubt about it that Mr. Ghose will prove an asset to the U.N.O. whose prestige is at the present moment none too high. Dr. Saroj Kumar Bose who is a Reader in the Department of Economics is now acting as its head. Dr. Bose is an expert on problems of Banking and Currency and has written a number of books and brochures on these subjects. We offer our felicitations both to Mr. Ghose and to Dr. Bose.

* * * *

PROFESSOR NALINAKSHA DUTT

Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, a Lecturer and acting head of the Department of Pali, has been appointed Professor of Pali. The vacancy was caused by the death of Professor B. M. Barua. Dr. Dutt is an erudite scholar in oriental subjects and has a number of books and papers to his credit. We offer our congratulations to Professor Dutt.

* * * *

VISIT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH DENTAL SURGEONS

On the 14th of the last month the British Dental Surgeons, headed by Mr. Bradlaugh who is the Dean of the Faculty of Dental Surgery in the Royal College of Surgeons, visited the University and were met at an at home by the Vice-Chancellor and members of the Syndicate. In welcoming them the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. C. C. Biswas, pointed out that Dental Surgery, as a separate specialised science by itself, had not yet been recognised by the University. It was still only a part of the general medical and surgery course. But already, he observed, a Dental College had been set up in the city and it had a status of its own. The University also, he emphasised, would not long delay the recognition of Dental Surgery as a separate subject to be studied on its own merit. The guests made a fitting reply.

* * * *

ENGLISH SOCIETY AT WORK

Mr. Leslie L. Lewis, Cultural Attaché to the American Consulate in Calcutta, delivered a lecture on "James Joyce" and "The Stream of Consciousness" novel at a meeting of the English Society in Asutosh Hall, Calcutta University, on November 25, 1949. The lecture was illustrated with a tabular statement which was circulated in print to the audience. Mr. Lewis drew pointed attention to the nature of 'The Stream of Consciousness' novel, the technique of which was developed by Joyce in his most characteristic way.

Professor M. M. Bhattacharjee, who presided at the meeting, announced that the American Consulate had decided to make a present to the University Library of fifty volumes of American Literature, and made accessible to the University teachers and students the Library in the American Consulate in the Esplanade Mansion. For this Professor Bhattacharjee thanked the Consulate and Mr. Lewis.

At a meeting of the English Society held in the Asutosh Hall, Calcutta University, on January 4, Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, who represents the British Council in this country, delivered a lecture on English Poetry. He also recited passages from Rabindranath, Sri Aurobindo, and a number of British poets. His readings were much appreciated by the audience. Sir Eugen said that Indian contribution to English Literature, which had so far obtained little recognition, was important. The works of Taru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Sri Aurobindo and the translation from Rabindranath should have an abiding place in English literature.

Professor M. M. Bhattacharjee, who presided, said that English Literature was the most important cultural link between India and England and America, and it should not be broken abruptly.



Official Notifications, University of Calcutta Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. Misc. R. 7 of 18.1.50.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Sub-section (1) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (Act VIII of 1904) the Governor has been pleased to sanction the following changes in Section 8A, Chapter XXXI of the Regulations :—

The word 'candidate' in the last para of Section 8A *be replaced* by the word 'candidates' and the following proviso *be added* at the end :—

Candidates may also take up Geography as an additional subject in which there shall be two Theoretical Papers of 75 marks each and one Practical Paper of 50 marks of which 10 marks shall be set apart for Laboratory note book, provided that they have not taken up Geography as a compulsory subject under Group B.

The changes will have immediate effect.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 18th January, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. Misc. R. 8., dated 19.1.50.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Sub-section (1) of Section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 (Act VIII of 1904), Government have been pleased to sanction the following changes in Chapters XXXIV—A and XL of the Regulations of this University relating to the B.Com. and the B.T. Examinations respectively.

Chapter XXXIV-A (B.Com.),

In Sections 6 and 10, the word 'division' *be replaced* by the word 'Class' and the word 'Divisions' *be replaced* by the word 'Classes'.

In Section 6, the words 'the first in order of merit and the other in alphabetical order,' *be replaced* by the words 'both in order of merit'.

Chapter XL (B. T.)

In Section (b), line 4, the words 'or passed the B.Com. Examination in the First Division' *be replaced* by the words 'or passed the B.Com. Examination in the First Class.'

SENATE HOUSE,
The 21st January, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. 6

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) Government have been pleased to sanction the following changes in Chapter XLIV and XLV of the Regulations of this University relating to the First and the Final M.B.B.S. Examinations :—

"I. In Section 5, Chapter XLIV, the lines 'Provided that...matter' *be replaced* by the following :—

Provided that a candidate who fails in one subject only at the First M.B. Examination may be re-examined in that subject only at the next examination. If he fails to pass or to appear at the examination he may appear again in that subject at the next succeeding examination at a subsequent examination, but if he fails again, he shall have to appear in all the subjects at a subsequent examination.

In Section 8, Chapter XLV, the following changes be made :

The note at the end of the table under Part I be numbered as 'Note (1)' and the following be inserted under the present note—

Note (2)—In order to pass the examination in Forensic and State Medicine; a candidate must pass separately in written and oral examinations and that he must secure 40% in the written examination, 40% in the oral examination and 50% in the aggregate.

The changes in Chapter XLIV will be given effect to from the Examinations of November, 1949 and those in Chapter XLV from the Examinations of May, 1950.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 6th January, 1950.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Copy of letter No. F.2-15/49-S.2 dated 3.8.49 from the Government of India, Ministry of Education.

Sub: Overseas Scholarships—Provincial. Duration of courses of studies in the Universities and Institutions in the United States of America.

I am directed to state that the Indian Embassy, Washington, has submitted to this Ministry the following statement in regard to the duration of courses at American institutions :

1. The American University system is organised very differently from the Indian and British systems. There are no examinations of the kind which are such an important features of the Indian and British Universities, and there is thus no fixed duration for a particular course. In the light of a student's attainments, as assessed by University authorities, it is decided what grades he should secure before he can qualify for a degree for which he is registered. In certain cases the Universities have been declined to register a student for a specific degree at the time of his admission and leave the matter to be decided later in the light of the proficiency which he shows in his subjects of study. It is, therefore, quite impossible to say, in any case at the time of a student's admission how long he would take to qualify for a degree. It is even more uncertain in the case of a research degree because, as the University authorities have pointed out in every case that as so far been referred to them it is impossible to predict even towards a comparatively late stage of a student's course whether he is likely to come up against an unforeseen difficulty in his research problems and when his research work will be completed. It has been the experience that the University authorities strongly resent any enquiry as to when a student is likely to secure a degree and it is therefore undesirable to persist with these enquiries.

2. Every opportunity has been taken to explain it to different University authorities that it is not possible to enter an indefinite financial commitment and award a Scholarship to a student for so long as he may require to complete the requisites for a degree. In these circumstances the following courses are suggested :—

- (a) If a student is required to secure a particular degree it may be so stated and the period of study will be according to the requirements of the University authorities to complete the work for that degree provided that progress in studies does not disclose any lack of diligence or application.
- (b) In case where it is not desired to obtain a degree it may be so stated and the student will have to be in the country of study for a period of scholarship and thus place the responsibility of the student if he should register for a degree which he cannot obtain within the specified time. The University will in such case be apprised of the position.
- (c) It may happen that in certain cases a student may in good faith register for a degree which he feels confident of being able to secure within the time available to him but unforeseen difficulties arise which make it impossible for him to complete the work in time. Such cases will be judged on merit and if the student's work had been of a really high standard he will be considered for the grant of an extension of scholarship to enable him to complete his work. This is important not only from the point of view of the student but even more so from that of the relations with the Universities. It will no doubt be appreciated that the tuition fees which a graduate student pays do not by a long way cover the cost of his instruction, and the University incurs on his account considerable additional expenses which is more or less wasted if he leaves his work incomplete.

UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

The undermentioned candidates for the University Examinations held in July (Special Punjab Course) and September (Supplementary) 1949 who were proved to the satisfaction of the Executive Council to have resorted to unfair means in the course of the examination have been expelled from the University and declared to be not fit and proper persons to be admitted to any future examination of the University :—

No.	Name of examination	Roll No.	Enrolment No.	Name of candidate	Father's Name	College from which sent
1.	Intermediate Arts (Special Punjab Course)	175	H. 7139	Ram Kumar	L. Johri Mal	Hindu College 2nd Shift.
2.	Examination in Subsidiary Subject for the B.A. Hons. course.	547	H. 6987	Premchand Gupta	Mr. P. B. Shri Chand	Ex-student.

No. Ex/ dated Delhi, the 26th November, 1949.

Copy to the Registrars of all Indian Universities.

Sd. Illegible

Registrar.

University of Delhi, Delhi.

UNIVERSITY OF TRAVANCORE

D. Dis. No. 35/49/Exam.

Proceedings of the Syndicate.

Sub : Malpractice at the University Examination, April, 1949.

Read:

1. Report of the Chief Superintendent;
2. Explanation of the candidate;
3. Recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Syndicate on Residence, Welfare and Discipline of Students.

Order

The Syndicate having found the undermentioned candidate guilty of resorting to unfair means at the Intermediate Examination, has resolved that the examination taken by the candidate be cancelled and he be debarred from appearing for any examination of this University earlier than March 1951.

(By order)

Sd. P. R. Parameswara Panikkar.

Registrar.

Name of candidate—P. C. Zachariah

Register No.—1896

Examination taken by the candidate—Intermediate.

Date of birth—3.12.1105

Name of father or guardian—Chacko, P. M.

Address—Pallathethi, Puthupally, Kottayam

Where educated—C. M. S. College, Kottayam

Period of punishment—Not to appear earlier than March, 1951.

Communicated to—The Registrars of all Indian Universities.

D. Dis. No. 35/49/Exam.

Office of the

University of Travancore, Trivendrum

21st November, 1949.

Copy forwarded to the Registrar, Calcutta University, Calcutta for information.

Sd. P. R. Parameswara Panikkar,

Registrar.

I am to request that the points raised may kindly be borne in mind while suggesting courses of studies for overseas scholars who have been or will be sponsored by the Provincial Government.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 23rd November, 1949.

S. C. GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

UNIVERSITY OF POONA

Notification

It is hereby notified that the following candidates have been declared to have failed at the Intermediate Arts Examination 1949 and have further been debarred from appearing for any of the Examinations of that University until the dates shown against their names, for having resorted to unfair means at the said Examination :—

No.	Name of the candidate	College	Date until which debarred.
609	Deo, Laxman Heramb	Fergusson College, Poona	31st January, 1951
613	Patankar, Gajanan Shaukar	Do.	31st January, 1951
615	Wadke, Bhalchandra Pandharinath	Do.	31st January, 1951

G. C. BANERJEE,
University Registrar.

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Proceedings of the Syndicate.

No. S2-6645/49

Waltair, 12th November, 1949.

Encl. 1 Statement.

Sub : Misconduct at Examinations—September 1949.

Read the following—

- (i) Reports from the Chief Superintendent, University Examinations, Sept. 1949.
- (ii) Also Reports from Examiners.
- (iii) Resolution of the Syndicate dated 29.10.49.

Order

The results of the following examinees who have been found guilty of attempting to use unfair means at the University Examinations held in September, 1949 are cancelled and they are debarred from appearing for the University Examinations for the periods noted against each.

S. No.	Name	Examination	Reg. No.	Debarred from appearing for any of the University Examinations before
1.	G. V. Rama Rao	Intermediate, Sept. 1949	377	March-April, 1951
2.	Vanja Vedamani	Do.	670	Do.
3.	Kolli Rama Chandra Reddi	Do.	2006	Do.
4.	Parvataneni Venkata Subbaya	Do.	2138	Do.
5.	Poliseti Satyanarayana	Do.	2836	Do.

By order

Sd. Illegible,
Registrar.

Copy to the Registrars of all Indian Universities.